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THE

SOUTHEY'S LIFE OF NELSON,

CHAPTERS VII., VIII. & IX.

WITH

LIFE OF SOUTHEY, SOUTHEY'S LITERATURE

AN

ARTICLE ON PROSE COMPOSITION, NOTES, &c.

BY

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FOR THE USE OF CANDIDATES PREPARING FOR
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LIFE OF SOUTHEY.

ROBERT SOUTHEY was born at Bristol, on the 19th of August, 1774. His father was a small linen draper of that town, and managed from his business to make a living for his family but nothing more. Young Robert's prospects, however, were thought to have a brighter outlook when he, as a mere child, was adopted by his aunt, Miss Tyler, a maiden lady of some means. This lady was somewhat imperious in manner, but was kind and devoted in her own way to literature.

At her home, in Bath, the boy lived a rather solitary life, devoted to quietness, neatness and decorum. This was not a very attractive life for a young boy, but Miss Tyler had one amusement which young Robert greatly enjoyed: she was passionately fond of the theatre. Naturally he, too, became fascinated with it, and soon caught all his aunt's admiration for theatrical plays, play actors and play writers. The strong bias his young mind thus received, led him irresistibly towards literature. His aunt's library, which consisted chiefly of the early dramatists, fed this taste, and even at this early age he had a young ambition to become a writer of dramas, and spent much of his leisure time in composing juvenile plays.

In 1788, he went to Westminster School, the expense being borne by his uncle, the Reverend Herbert Hill, English Chaplain at Lisbon. Here he devoted more of his time to old books of romance and legends than to the ordinary routine of studies. Spenser and Tasso captivated his imagination, and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* had a great influence on his mind. His head was too full of his own literary schemes to allow him to become a devoted or an accurate scholar; but he was laying the foundation for his future life work, and actually conceived the plan, at this early age, of most of his future works. It was while at Westminster that he conceived the idea of *Madoc*; *Thalaba* and the *Curse of Kehama* were also the after elaboration of a youthful idea he had there conceived of writing a poem on each of the great mythological religions in the world.

In his fourth year at Westminster he was expelled from the school on account of an article against flogging, written for a school journal which had been established by himself and some of his schoolmates. This was in the year 1792, a glorious age for poetic youth to live in. It was the age of Washington; of the fall of the Bastille, and of the rise of the revolutionary spirit. All the world was worshipping young liberty rising from the grave of centuries and bursting her iron fetters. Liberty is of slow growth

however; she comes timidly and reluctantly to dwell with men, but people, especially the young, did not then recognize this fact. Their hearts were full of enthusiasm for the impulse that would "Ring out the old, ring in the new," and all looked for the speedy advent of a millennial age of higher and purer existence. Years after, when Southey's heart had become somewhat sobered by age, he wrote: "I left Westminster in a perilous state—a heart full of piety and feeling—a head full of Rousseau and Werther, and my religious principles shaken by Gibbon. Many circumstances tended to give me a wrong bias, none to lead me right, except adversity, the wholesomest of all discipline."

At the time of Southey's expulsion from Westminster School, his father had failed in business, and the young man had to look forward to the prospect of abandoning his studies to aid in the support of the family, but by his uncle Hill's generosity he was enabled to go to Oxford, and in the autumn of the same year he matriculated into Balliol College.

He never liked Oxford, and learned but little during his course there. One book, however, made a deep impression on him—this was Epictetus, the stoic, of which he afterwards wrote: "Twelve years ago I carried Epictetus in my pocket till my very heart was ingrained with it, and the longer I live and the more I learn the more I am convinced that stoicism, properly understood, is the best and noblest of systems."

The impression then made never wore off—a philosophic stoicism, meliorated in later life by Christian faith, characterized him till the last. We have but few records of his college life; his autobiography stops with his school-days, and his letters cover only his later years. It was, however, a repetition of his school-days; the literary aspirations were intensified and modified by the stirring events of the French Revolution. His *Joan of Arc*, finished in 1793, reveals his ardent sympathy with Republicanism and hatred of tyranny. But in that very year the terrible excesses in Paris threw him into despair. The removal of hereditary rulers had not converted the ignorance and vice of the masses into wisdom and virtue. The age of prejudice, abuse and tyranny was not to be suddenly replaced by an age of culture, reason and liberty. Southey therefore began to despair of a purer age ever being established in Europe, and in this frame of mind he naturally thought of America. His mother's and his uncle's wish was that he should enter the church, but this his way of thinking did not allow him to do, much as he regretted it. He thought at one time of studying medicine, but his mind was too strongly biased toward literature and was full of Utopian dreams.

America was, he thought, the only place in which he could live his Arcadian life of cultured innocence; and meeting, about this time, another Utopian dreamer in Coleridge, he began to consider the matter seriously. A scheme was soon mutually concocted of settling on the Susquehanna, in America, where they could found a small colony of their own—a pantisocracy, each sharing in the government. Lovell, a friend, was to join them,

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and as each member was to be married, the two sisters of Mrs. Lovell, Edith and Martha Fricker, were to be invited to share the fortunes of the young pantisocrats. The marriages were afterwards, indeed, consummated, but the scheme fell through. Money was the root from which all this good was to spring, and money was just what each lacked most; and moreover, Miss Tyler came to hear of Miss Fricker and the rest of the scheme, and Southey was ordered to leave her house. This was a crisis in his life. The publication of *Joan of Arc*, and a series of lectures by Southey and Coleridge still failing to raise money, Southey accepted his uncle's invitation to spend six months in Lisbon, a step which highly offended Coleridge. Before going he secretly married his Edith; but pantisocracy was dead; the Susquehanna was allowed to roll its sleepy waters through vales of unenlightened darkness. The revolutionary ardour of the young author of *Joan of Arc* and *Wat Tyler* was from this day merged in the embryo Toryism of the future poet laureate.

On his return from Lisbon he took up the study of law, but devoted his time to his poem *Mudoe*, which he had now begun. He also wrote regularly for several magazines. In 1800, he again went to Portugal, where he utilized his visit by collecting materials for a *History of Portugal*, which, however, was never finished, and a *History of Brazil*, which he afterwards published. He also while there prepared *Thalaba* for the press.

On returning to Britain he became Secretary to Mr. Corry, Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland, but soon resigned the post and, in 1803, took up his residence with Coleridge, at Exeter Hall, near Keswick, in the lake district.

Keswick, from this time forward, became his home; with him lived Coleridge, and near him lived Wordsworth; hence the three were called by Jeffrey the Lake School, but there was little in common among them to constitute a school of poets.

The chief revenue for Exeter Hall came from Southey's busy pen, assisted by an annuity of £160, which had been given him by his college friend Wynn. He now devoted himself almost entirely to his literary work, and was in the habit of carrying on several works at the same time; when tired of one, he would rest himself by working at another. He was fond of books, and in time had a collection of 14,000, "the pride of his eye and the joy of his heart."

In 1805, he visited Scotland and spent three days with Scott, where he met Lord Jeffrey, the critic of the *Edinburg Review*. This magazine was becoming too liberal for Scott and Southey, and a new one, the *Quarterly*, was started in 1809, to which Southey became a regular contributor. His *Life of Nelson* was originally an article in the fifth number of the new quarterly.

He had by this time become quite conservative in his views and orthodox in his belief, and although he could discuss in theory political and social reform as desirable when the people were prepared for them, he opposed the

Reform Bill, Free Trade and Catholic Emancipation as going too far and too fast. He was appointed Poet Laureate in 1813, on the death of Pye. The position added £90 a year to his income, with which he insured his life. Other honours came to him now. He was given the degree of LL.D. by Oxford in 1829; elected to Parliament in 1826, but he never sat; he was offered and declined Knighthood in 1835, and had instead an annual pension of £300 conferred upon him by Sir Robert Peel. But, while these public honours were being heaped upon him, domestic affliction was darkening his life. In this same year, 1835, his wife died. His favourite son Herbert, and a daughter had previously died, and the loss of his wife gave his faculties a blow from which they never fully recovered; a gloom seemed to settle on him and his mind became gradually weaker. Two years later he married Caroline Bowles, an old lady friend, fifty-two years of age, a step he took merely for the sake of companionship in the weakness of his old age, now rapidly approaching; and the end was not long in coming. In 1840 he had to give up writing and abandon his beloved books. Wordsworth, on one of his visits, found him in that year in a state of mental stupor, and left him "patting with both hands his books affectionately like a child." In this state he continued, with occasional gleams of intelligence, but he gradually sank till his death occurred in 1843.

Southey as a man had many noble qualities; his purity, kind-hearted sympathy, and self-sacrificing devotion present a picture of a good and true man. He himself lived, as far as man could, the pure ideal he taught in his books. Busy as his life was, he found time to devote to others whose lot was worse than his own. At one time we find him editing Chatterton's poems, after the death of that strange genius, by which he netted £300 to assist his sisters, at another time, through sympathetic kindness, editing Kirk White's Remains. In manner, he was constitutionally bashful and reserved, qualities that were intensified by his long devotion to retirement and study. He had a large heart, but he cloaked his feelings under a studied stoicism; thus he writes to Coleridge: "Your feelings go naked; I cover mine with a bearskin. I will not say you harden yours by your mode, but I am sure that mine are the warmer for their clothing." He had not the imagination of Coleridge, that could call forth real beings out of the ideal world, nor that of his neighbour, Wordsworth, that could converse with a Divine Presence in external nature. He wrote and spoke little of nature, but he enjoyed her charms and the rugged beauty of his mountain home, where he spent the best part of his life devoted to his pleasant task.

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SOUTHEY'S LITERATURE.

SOUTHEY'S whole life was devoted to letters, yet his influence on the course of English Literature has been comparatively small. His poetry is chiefly of the narrative form, which had been made popular by Scott, but with Southey it labours under the disadvantage of being foreign in subject and cold in treatment. The pleasure derived is intellectual rather than emotional, and his heroes are too often like abstract types of right fighting against tyranny and fraud. Southey is the pure-toned moralist, approving and admiring great qualities and heroic deeds, rather than the divine-taught poet speaking to the hearts of his fellowmen. If he had followed his early impulses he might have given the world burning words on the wonderful events going on around him ; but his sudden conversion to the side of order closed his mouth or drove him to moralize coldly on the evils with which foreign lands were grappling.

His style is not characterized by artifice or peculiarities, it is simple and straightforward ; he believed in the use of plain words and avoided everything that approached the ornate.

From narrative poetry he glided naturally into prose, where he attained a somewhat higher position. His works in this department consist of histories, biographies and magazine articles. With him, history is a plain, simple narrative of events judged from a pure moral standard ; the style is easy, natural and unassuming.

In biography his relative position is higher. In this minor department of literature he stands among the first. His three leading biographies, the *Lives of Nelson, Cowper and Wesley*, are couched in graceful prose, and catch much of the spirit of the respective subjects. His *Life of Nelson*, written in 1817, when his powers were at their best, was originally an article in the *Quarterly Magazine*, afterwards expanded. It is in his best style. The devotion, the loyalty, and the heroic fortitude in Nelson's character appealed to similar qualities in Southey himself, the cause was a great national cause, and the feeling was intensified by centuries of tradition, while the incidents were wonderful in themselves. All these appealed strongly to Southey's nature, yet he tells the stirring tale in easy, graceful prose, his feelings, indeed, at glowing heat throughout, but the style maintained in an equable stoic calmness till the impassioned close when, for a moment, it bursts forth into flame in a tribute of praise and gratitude to the departed hero. The

heroic spirit and devoted loyalty of Nelson are kept prominent throughout the narrative of his wonderful achievements in fighting for the safety and honour of his country :—

“ That white-faced shore
Whose foot spurns back the ocean's roaring tides, —
Even that England, hedged in with the main,
That water-walled bulwark, still secure
And confident from foreign purposes.”

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PROSE COMPOSITION.

FAMILIARITY with the best models and practice in composition are essential requisites in producing a good prose style. These are sufficient if the student is fortunate enough to possess an artistic literary sensibility that will lead him to appreciate and imitate the great masters, but in the case of each, it is nevertheless true that

“True ease in writing comes by art, not chance,
As those move easiest who have learned to dance.”

This art must be acquired by individual effort guided by a knowledge of the principles of rhetoric. A few of those principles, as far as they relate to prose composition, are given below. They are founded on Professor Bain's Composition and Rhetoric, to which the student is directed for a fuller treatment of the subject.

VOCABULARY.

The student should cultivate the habit of carefully selecting the proper words and phrases to express his thoughts. Our language is rich in synonymous terms, owing largely to the fact that our stock of words has come to us from various other languages. This peculiarity necessitates a thorough knowledge of the meaning and use of each word, and often requires nice taste in selecting the most suitable word. It affords us also a means of varying our diction to suit the language to the subject or to the nature of the thoughts. Our diction and phraseology thus differ in conversation and oratory, in common prose and in impassioned prose, while poetry differs from all prose in much of its diction and phraseology. A correct taste in the use of words, phrases and idioms should, therefore, be cultivated, and the student cannot begin too early in acquiring the habit of neatness and accuracy of expression. The habit once formed will “grow by what it feeds on,” and may help to develop in the student the keen sensibility that marks the cultured mind.

THE SENTENCE.

As the sentence is the foundation of composition, great care should be taken in its formation. Skill in sentence building requires a knowledge of the principles of rhetoric as far as they relate to the order and the number of words used, the melody and rhythm of their sounds, and the various kinds of

sentences—the loose, the periodic, the balanced and the condensed—all of which are very important, but beyond the scope of these notes ; a few general principles in sentence structure, however, are the following :—

1. A series of long or of short sentences is tiresome.
2. Words, phrases and clauses should be so placed that their grammatical relation may be readily seen.
3. The beginning and the end are the emphatic places in a sentence, and it is a common rhetorical expedient to emphasize important words or phrases by transferring them from their natural place to the beginning or the end of the sentence.

4. A sentence should have unity ; one main thought should be prominent throughout. This unity may be preserved by the following means :—

- (1) Do not shift the scene in the course of a sentence.
- (2) Do not crowd into one sentence heterogeneous ideas.
- (3) Avoid excess of parentheses.
- (4) Add nothing after a full and perfect close.

THE PARAGRAPH.

The present tendency of English prose writers is to make subjects prominent and distinct by exactness in paragraphing. Our prose has reduced sentence structure to a science, but the paragraph has been comparatively neglected up to the present. Like the sentence, it was formerly long and disjointed, and like the sentence, it is now made shorter, more compact and distinct. Professor Bain's rules for the paragraph are the following :—

1. It should have unity of subject matter, and should be free from digressions or irrelevant sentences.
2. The opening sentence, unless obviously preparatory, should indicate with prominence the subject of the paragraph.
3. The bearing of each sentence upon what precedes should be explicit and unmistakable. This is most important. The relation of one sentence or of one paragraph to another, should be clearly shown by the careful use of the proper conjunctions or phrases.
4. A paragraph should be consecutive. The thread of thought ought to run through it without interruption or dislocation.
5. When several consecutive sentences iterate or illustrate the same idea, they should, as far as possible, be formed alike. This may be called the rule of parallel construction. The principal subject and predicate should retain their places throughout.
6. There should be a due proportion between principal and subordinate statements. Everything should have bulk and prominence according to its importance.

Of ordinary composition, the most usual varieties are description and narration.

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In description, the object is to present a definite picture to the mind by means of words. The art here is to follow some general plan, so as to avoid confusing the mind with a multiplicity of details. A general outline is sometimes taken, and the details are methodically filled in afterwards, or a description may follow a succession of aspects disclosed to a spectator surveying the whole. The imagination is assisted in following the description by allusions to individual objects and their associated circumstances, or by combining both methods of description, *e. g.*, the plan and enumeration may be followed by the travellers point of view.

NARRATION.

Narrative composition is generally a series of descriptive pictures. It therefore requires careful attention to all the requirements of the art of description, but a few additional cautions are necessary:—

1. The scene should not be shifted oftener or to a greater extent than is absolutely necessary, and when shifted, clear intimation should be given of the change.

2. The first principle of narrative is to follow the order of events.

3. In narrating two or more streams of events, the forms of language announcing the transition from one to the other should be explicit. Separating them into distinct paragraphs, or chapters, contributes to this end.

In resuming an interrupted thread of narrative, a backward view is sometimes taken by means of a summary.

In history there are many concurrent streams of events to be conducted. These must be carefully distinguished; the transitions from one to the other must be clearly indicated, and the memory should be occasionally refreshed by introductory summaries. History recounting the grand stream of human or national life admits of a certain elevation of style, and of many of the arts of poetry. But Southey's easy narrative has little embellishment. He followed his own directions as to historical style given to his brother: "A Welsh triad might comprehend all the rules of style. Say what you have to say as perspicuously as possible, as briefly as possible, and as rememberably as possible, and take no other thought about it. Omit none of those little circumstances which give life to narration, and bring old manners, old feeling and old times before your eyes."

Biography gives the experience of a life as illustrative of important truths respecting man's physical and mental nature. But the lives of distinguished men are always interesting, and a biography has often no further aim than to gratify that interest. The leading characteristics and guiding principle of the life should be clearly indicated, and the details illustrating these should be as full as possible. It admits more fully than history of poetic embellishment.

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SOUTHEY'S LIFE OF NELSON.

1. NELSON was welcomed in England with every mark of popular honour. At Yarmouth, where he landed, every ship in the harbour hoisted her colours. The mayor and corporation waited upon him with the freedom of the town, and accompanied him in procession to church, with all the naval officers on shore and the principal inhabitants. Bonfires and illuminations concluded the day; and on the morrow the volunteer cavalry drew up and saluted him as he departed, and followed the carriage to the borders of the county. At Ipswich the people came out to meet him, drew him a mile into the town and three miles out. (a) When he was in the *Agamemnon* he wished to represent this place in Parliament, and some of his friends had consulted the leading men of the corporation; the result was not successful, and Nelson, observing that he would endeavour to find out a preferable path into Parliament, said there might come a time when the people of Ipswich would think it an honour to have had him for their representative. In London he was feasted by the City, drawn by the populace from Ludgate Hill to Guildhall, and received the thanks of the Common Council for his great victory, (b) and a golden-hilted sword studded with diamonds. Nelson had every earthly blessing except domestic happiness: he had forfeited (c) that for ever. Before he had been three months in England he separated from Lady Nelson. Some of his last words to her were: "I call God to witness there is nothing in you or your conduct that I wish otherwise." (d) This was the consequence of his infatuated attachment to Lady Hamilton. (e) It had before caused a quarrel with his son-in-law, and (f)

occasioned remonstrances from his truest friends, which produced no other effect than that of making him displeased with them and more dissatisfied with himself.

2. The (a) Addington administration was just at this time formed, and Nelson, who had solicited employment, and been made vice-admiral of the (b) blue, was sent to the Baltic, as second in command under Sir Hyde Parker, by (c) Earl St. Vincent, the new First Lord of the Admiralty. The three northern Courts had formed a confederacy for making England resign her (d) naval rights. Of these Courts, Russia was guided by the passions of its emperor, Paul, a man not without fits of generosity and some natural goodness, but subject to the wildest humours of caprice, and (e) crazed by the possession of greater power than can ever be safely or perhaps innocently possessed by weak (f) humanity. Denmark was (g) French at heart; ready to co-operate in all the views of France, to recognize all her usurpations, and obey all her injunctions. Sweden, under a king whose principles were right and whose feelings were generous, but who had a taint of hereditary insanity, acted in acquiescence with the dictates of two powers whom it feared to offend. The Danish navy at this time consisted of twenty-three ships of the line, with about thirty-one frigates and smaller vessels, exclusive of guardships. The Swedes had eighteen ships of the line, fourteen frigates and sloops, seventy-four galleys and smaller vessels, besides gunboats; and this force was in a far better state of equipment than the Danish. The Russians had eighty-two sail of the line and forty frigates. Of these, there were forty seven sail of the line at Cronstadt, Revel, Petersburg, and Archangel; but the Russian fleet was ill-manned, ill-officered, and ill-equipped. Such a combination under the influence of France would soon have become formidable; and never did the British Cabinet display more decision than in instantly preparing to crush it. They erred, however, in permitting any petty consideration to prevent them from

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appointing Nelson to the command. The public properly murmured at seeing it entrusted to another; and he himself said to Earl St. Vincent, that, circumstanced as he was, this expedition would probably be the last service that he should ever perform. The Earl, in reply, besought him, for God's sake, not to suffer himself to be carried away by any sudden impulse.

3. The season happened to unusually favourable; so mild a winter had not been known in the Baltic for many years. When Nelson joined the fleet at Yarmouth he found the admiral "a little nervous about dark nights and fields of ice." "But we must brace up," (a) said he; "these are not times for nervous systems. I hope we shall give our northern enemies that hailstorm of bullets which gives our dear country the dominion of the sea. We have it, and all the devils in the north cannot take it from us, if our wooden walls have fair play." Before the fleet left Yarmouth it was sufficiently known that its destination was against Denmark. Some Danes, who belonged to the *Amazon* frigate, went to Captain Riou, and telling him what they had heard, begged that he would get them exchanged into a ship bound on some other destination. "They had no wish," they said, "to quit the British service; but they entreated that they might not be forced to fight against their own country." There was not in our whole navy a man who had a higher and more chivalrous sense of duty than Riou. Tears came into his eyes while the men were speaking; without making any reply, he instantly ordered his boat, and did not return to the *Amazon* until he could tell them that their wish was effected.

4. The fleet sailed on the 12th of March. Mr. Vansittart sailed in it, the British Cabinet still hoping to obtain its end by negotiation. It was well for England that Sir Hyde Parker placed a fuller confidence in Nelson than the Government seems to have done at this most important crisis. Her enemies

might well have been astonished at learning that any other man should for a moment have been thought of for the command. But so little deference was paid, even at this time, to his intuitive and all-commanding genius, that when the fleet had reached its first rendezvous, at the entrance of the Cattegat, he had received no official communication whatever of the intended operations. His own mind had been made up upon them with its accustomed decision. "All I have gathered of our first plans," said he, "I disapprove most exceedingly. Honour may arise from them; good cannot. I hear we are likely to anchor outside of Cronenburg Castle, instead of Copenhagen, which would give weight to our negotiation. A Danish minister would think twice before he would put his name to war with England, when the next moment he would probably see his master's fleet in flames and his capital in ruins. The Dane should see our flag every moment he lifted up his head."

5. Mr. Vansittart left the fleet at the Seaw, and preceded it in a frigate with a flag of truce. Precious time was lost by this delay, which was to be purchased by the dearest blood of Britain and Denmark: according to the Dantes themselves, the intelligence that a British fleet was seen off the Sound produced a much more general alarm in Copenhagen than its actual arrival in the roads; for their means of defence were at that time in such a state that they could hardly hope to resist, still less to repel, an enemy. On the 21st Nelson had a long conference with Sir Hyde; and the next day addressed a letter to him worthy of himself and of the occasion. Mr. Vansittart's report had then been received. It represented the Danish Government as in the highest degree hostile, and their state of preparation as exceeding what our Cabinet had supposed possible; for Denmark had profited, with all activity, of the leisure (*a*) which had so impolitically been given her. "The more I have reflected," said Nelson to his commander, "the

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more I am confirmed in opinion that not a moment should be lost in attacking the enemy. They will every day and every hour be stronger: we shall never be so good a match for them as at this moment. The only consideration is, how to get at them with the least risk to our ships. Here you are, with almost the safety—certainly with the honour—of England more entrusted to you than ever (*b*) yet fell to the lot of any British officer. On your decision depends whether our country shall be degraded in the eyes of Europe, or whether she shall rear her head higher than ever. Again I do repeat, never did our country depend so much upon the success of any fleet as on this. How best to honour her and abate the pride of her enemies must be the subject of your deepest consideration."

6. (*a*) Supposing him to force the passage of the Sound, Nelson thought some damage might be done among the masts and yards, though perhaps not one of them but would be serviceable again. "If the wind be fair," said he, "and you determine to attack the ships and Crown Islands, you must expect the natural issue of such a battle—ships crippled, and perhaps one or two lost, for the wind which carries you in will most probably not bring out a crippled ship. This method I call taking the bull by the horns. It, however, will not prevent the Revel ships or the Swedes from joining the Danes; and to prevent this is, in my humble opinion, a measure absolutely necessary, and still to attack Copenhagen." For this he proposed two modes. One was to pass Cronenburg, taking the risk of danger, take the deepest and straightest channel along the Middle Grounds, and then coming down the Garbar, or King's Channel, attack the Danish line of floating batteries and ships as might be found convenient. This would prevent a junction, and might give an opportunity of bombarding Copenhagen. Or to take the passage of the Belt, which might be accomplished in four or five days, and then the attack by Drago might be made and the junction of the Russians prevented.

Supposing them through the Belt, he proposed that a detachment of the fleet should be sent to destroy the Russian squadron at Revel, and that the business at Copenhagen should be attempted with the remainder. "The measure," he said, "might be thought bold; but the boldest measures are the safest."

7. The pilots, as men who had nothing but safety to think of, were terrified by the formidable report of the batteries of Elsinore, and the (*a*) tremendous preparations which our negotiators, who were now returned from their fruitless mission, had witnessed. They therefore persuaded Sir Hyde to prefer the passage of the Belt. "Let it be by the Sound, by the Belt, or anyhow," cried Nelson; "only lose not an hour!" On the 26th they sailed for the Belt: such was the habitual reserve of Sir Hyde that his own captain, the (*b*) captain of the fleet, did not know which course he had resolved to take till the fleet were getting under (*c*) weigh. When Captain Domett was thus apprised of it, he felt it his duty to represent to the admiral his belief that, if that course were persevered in, the ultimate object would be totally defeated. It was liable to long delays and to (*d*) accidents of ships grounding. In the whole fleet there were only one captain and one pilot who knew anything of this formidable passage (as it was then deemed), and their knowledge was very slight. Their instructions did not authorize them to attempt it. Supposing them safe through the Belts, the heavy ships could not come over the Grounds to attack Copenhagen, and light vessels would have no effect on such a line of defence as had been prepared against them. Domett urged these reasons so forcibly that Sir Hyde's opinion was shaken, and he consented to bring the fleet to, and send for Nelson on board. There can be little doubt (*e*) but that the expedition would have failed if Captain Domett had not thus timely and earnestly given his advice. Nelson entirely agreed with him, and it was finally determined to take the passage of the Sound, and the fleet returned to its former anchorage.

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8. The next day was more idly expended in despatching a flag of truce to the governor of Cronenburg Castle, to ask whether he had received orders to fire at the British fleet, as the admiral must consider the first gun to be a declaration of war on the part of Denmark. A soldier-like and becoming answer was returned to this formality. The governor said that the British Minister had not been sent away from Copenhagen, but had obtained a passport at his own demand. He himself, as a soldier, could not meddle with politics, but he was not at liberty to suffer a fleet, of which the intention was not yet known, to approach the guns of the castle which he had the honour to command, and he requested, if the British admiral should think proper to make any proposals to the King of Denmark, that he might be apprised of it before the fleet approached nearer. During this intercourse a Dane, who came on board the commander's ship, having occasion to express his business in writing, found the pen blunt, and holding it up, sarcastically said, "If your guns are not better pointed than your pens, you will make little impression on Copenhagen!"

9. On that day intelligence reach the admiral of the loss of one of his fleet, the *Invincible*, seventy-four, wrecked on a sandbank as she was coming out of Yarmouth: 400 of her men perished in her. Nelson, who was now appointed to lead the van, shifted his flag to the *Elephant*, Captain Foley—a lighter ship than the *St. George*, and therefore fitter for the expected operations. The two following days were calm. Orders had been given to pass the Sound as soon as the wind would permit, and on the afternoon of the 29th the ships were cleared for action with an alacrity characteristic of British seamen. At daybreak on the 30th it blew a topsail breeze from N.W. The signal was given and the fleet moved on in order of battle; Nelson's division in the van, Sir Hyde's in the centre, and Admiral Graves' in the rear.

10. Great actions, whether military or naval, have generally given celebrity to the scenes from whence they are denominated, and thus petty villages, and capes, and bays, known only to the coasting trader, become associated with mighty deeds, and their names are made conspicuous in the history of the world. Here, however, the scene was every way worthy of the drama. The political importance of the Sound is such that grand objects are not needed there to impress the imagination, yet is the channel full of grand and interesting objects, both of art and nature. This passage, which Denmark had so long considered as the key of the Baltic, is in its narrowest part about three miles wide, and here the city of Elsinore is situated, except Copenhagen the most flourishing of the Danish towns. Every vessel which passes lowers her top-gallant-sails and pays toll at Elsinore, a toll which is believed to have had its origin in the consent of the traders to that sea, Denmark taking upon itself the charge of constructing lighthouses and erecting signals to mark the shoals and rocks from the Cattegat to the Baltic; and they on their part agreeing that all ships should pass this way in order that all might pay their shares; none from that time using the passage of the Belt, because it was not fitting that they who enjoyed the benefit of the beacons in dark and stormy weather should evade contributing to them in fair seasons and summer nights. Of late years about ten thousand vessels had annually paid this contribution in time of peace. Adjoining Elsinore, and at the edge of the peninsular promontory, upon the (*a*) nearest point of land to the Swedish coast, stands Cronenburg Castle, built after (*b*) Tycho Brahe's design, a magnificent pile—at once a palace and fortress and state prison, with its spires and towers, and battlements and batteries. On the left of the strait is the old Swedish city of Helsinburg, at the foot and on the side of a hill. To the north of Helsinburg the shores are steep and rocky; they lower to the south, and the distant spires of Landscrona, Lund, and Malmoe are seen

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in the flat country. The Danish shores consist (*c*) partly of ridges of sand, but more frequently their slopes are covered with rich wood, and villages and villas, denoting the vicinity of a great capital. The islands of Huen, Satholm, and Amak appear in the widening channel; and at the distance of twenty miles from Elsinore stands Copenhagen, in full view—the best city of the North, and one of the finest capitals of Europe, visible, with its stately spires, far off. Amid these magnificent objects there are some which possess a peculiar interest for the recollections which they call forth. The isle of Huen, a lovely domain, about six miles in circumference, had been the munificent gift of Frederic the Second to Tycho Brahe. Here most of his discoveries were made, and here the ruins are to be seen of his observatory, and of the mansion where he was visited by princes, and where, with a princely spirit, he received and entertained all comers from all parts, and promoted science by his liberality as well as by his labours. (*d*) Elsinore is a name familiar to English ears, being inseparably associated with Hamlet, and one of the noblest works of human genius. Cronenburg had been the scene of deeper tragedy: here (*e*) Queen Matilda was confined, the victim of a foul and murderous Court intrigue. Here, amid heart-breaking griefs, she found consolation in nursing her infant. Here she took her everlasting leave of that infant, when, by the interference of England, her own deliverance was obtained, and as the ship bore her away from a country where the venal indiscretions of youth and unsuspecting gaiety had been so cruelly punished, upon these towers she fixed her eyes, and stood upon the deck, obstinately gazing towards them till the last speck had disappeared.

11. The Sound being the only frequented entrance to the Baltic, the great Mediterranean of the North, few parts of the sea display so frequent a navigation. In the height of the season not fewer than a hundred vessels pass every four-and-twenty hours for many weeks in succession; but never (*a*) had so busy

or so splendid a scene been exhibited there as on this day, when the British fleet prepared to force that passage where till now all ships had veiled their top-sails to the flag of Denmark. The whole force consisted of fifty-one sail of various descriptions, of which sixteen were of the line. The greater part of the boom and gun vessels took their stations off Cronenburg Castle, to cover the fleet ; while others, on the larboard, were ready to engage the Swedish shore. The Danes having improved every moment which ill-timed negotiation and baffling weather gave them, had lined their shore with batteries ; and as soon as the *Monarch*, which was the leading ship, came abreast of them, a fire was opened from about a hundred pieces of cannon and mortars : our light vessels immediately, in return, opened their fire upon the castle. Here were all the (*b*) pompous circumstance and exciting reality of war without its effects ; for this ostentatious display was but a bloodless prelude to the wide and sweeping destruction which was soon to follow. The enemy's shot (*c*) fell near enough to splash the water on board our ships : not relying upon any forbearance of the Swedes, (*d*) they meant to have kept the mid-channel ; but when they perceived that not a shot was fired from Helsinburg, and that no batteries were to be seen on the Swedish shore, they inclined to that side, so as (*e*) completely to get out of reach of the Danish guns. The uninterrupted blaze which was kept up from them till the fleet had passed served only to exhilarate our sailors, and afford them matter for jest, as the shot fell in showers a full cable's length short of its destined aim. A few rounds were returned from some of our leading ships till they perceived its inutility : this, however, occasioned the only bloodshed of the day, some of our men being killed and wounded by the bursting of a gun. As soon as the main body had passed, the gun-vessels followed, desisting from their bombardment, which had been as (*f*) innocent as that of the enemy ; and about midday the whole fleet anchored between the island

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of Huen and Copenhagen. Sir Hyde, with Nelson, Admiral Graves, some of the senior captains, and the commanding officers of the artillery and the troops, then proceeded in a lugger to reconnoitre the enemy's means of defence—a formidable line of ships, radeaus, pontoons, galleys, fire-ships and gun-boats, flanked and supported by extensive batteries, and occupying, from one extreme point to the other, an extent of nearly four miles.

12. A council of war was held in the afternoon. It was apparent that the Danes could not be attacked without great difficulty and risk; and some of the members of the council spoke of the number of the Swedes and the Russians whom they should afterwards have to engage as a consideration which ought to be borne in mind. Nelson, who kept pacing the cabin, impatient as he ever was of anything which savoured of irresolution, repeatedly said, "The more numerous the better: I wish they were twice as many—the easier the victory, depend on it." The plan upon which he had determined, if ever it should be his fortune to bring a Baltic fleet to action, was to attack the head of their line, and confuse their movements. "Close with a Frenchman," he used to say, "but out-manceuvre a Russian." He offered his services for the attack, requiring ten sail of the line and the whole of the smaller craft. Sir Hyde gave him two more line-of-battle ships than he asked, and left everything to his judgment.

13. The enemy's force was not the only nor the greatest obstacle with which the British fleet had to contend; there was another to overcome before they could come in contact with it. The channel was little known and extremely intricate; all the buoys had been removed, and the Danes considered (*a*) this difficulty as almost insuperable, thinking the channel impracticable for so large a fleet. Nelson himself saw the soundings made and the buoys laid down, boating it on this exhaustive service, (*b*) day and night, till it was effected. When this was

done he thanked God for having enabled him to get through this difficult part of his duty. "It had worn him down," he said, "and was infinitely more grievous to him than any resistance which he could experience from the enemy."

14. At the first council of war opinions inclined to an attack from the eastward : but the next day, the wind being southerly, after a second examination of the Danish position, it was determined to attack from the south, approaching in the manner which Nelson had suggested in his first thoughts. On the morning of the 1st of April the whole fleet removed to an anchorage within two leagues of the town, and off the N.W. end of the Middle Ground ; a shoal lying exactly before the town, at about three-quarters of a mile (*a*) distance, and extending along its whole sea front. The King's Channel, where there is deep water, is between this shoal and the town, and here the Danes had arranged their line of defence as near the shore as possible : nineteen ships and floating batteries, flanked, at the end nearest the town, by the Crown Batteries, which were two artificial islands at the mouth of the harbour—most formidable works ; the larger one having, by the Danish account, sixty-six guns, but, as Nelson believed, eighty-eight. The fleet having anchored, Nelson, with Riou in the *Amazon*, made his last examination of the ground, and about one o'clock, returning to his own ship, threw out the signal to weigh. It was received with a shout throughout the whole division ; they weighed with a light and favourable wind : the narrow channel between the island of Saltholm and the Middle Ground had been accurately buoyed ; the small craft pointed out the course distinctly ; Riou led the way : the whole division coasted along the outer edge of the shoal, doubled its further extremity, and anchored there off Draco Point, just as the darkness closed—the headmost of the enemy's line not being more than two miles distant. The signal to prepare for action had been made early in the evening, and, as his own anchor dropped, Nelson called out : "I will

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fight them the moment I have a fair wind." It had been arranged that Sir Hyde, with the remaining ships, should weigh on the following morning at the same time as Nelson, to menace the Crown Batteries on his side, and the four ships of the line which lay at the entrance of the arsenal, and to cover our own disabled ships as they came out of action.

15. The Danes, meantime, had not been idle: no sooner did the guns of Cronenburg make it known to the (*a*) whole city that all negotiation was at end, that the British fleet was passing the Sound, and that the dispute between the two crowns must now be decided by arms, than a spirit displayed itself, most honourable to the Danish character. All ranks offered themselves to the service of their country; the university furnished a corps of twelve hundred youths, the flower of Denmark: it was one of those emergencies in which little drilling or discipline is necessary to render courage available; they had nothing to learn but how to manage the guns, and were employed day and night in practising them. When the movements of Nelson's squadron were perceived, it was known when and where the attack was to be expected, and the line of defence was manned indiscriminately by soldiers, sailors and citizens. Had not the whole attention of the Danes been directed to strengthen their (*b*) own means of defence, they might most materially have annoyed the invading squadron, and perhaps frustrated the impending attack, for the British ships were crowded in an anchoring ground of little extent; it was calm, so that mortar boats might have acted against them to the utmost advantage, and they were within range of shells from Amak Island. A few fell among them, but the enemy soon ceased to fire. It was learnt afterwards that, fortunately for the fleet, the bed of the mortar had given way, and the Danes either could not get it replaced, or in the darkness lost the direction.

16. This was an awful night for Copenhagen—far more so than for the British fleet, where the men were accustomed to

battle and victory, and had none of those objects before their eyes which render death terrible. Nelson sat down to table with a large party of his officers; he was, as he was ever wont to be when on the eve of action, in high spirits, and drank to a leading wind and to the success of the morrow. After supper (*a*) they returned to their respective ships, except Riou, who remained to arrange the order of battle with Nelson and Foley, and to draw up instructions; Hardy, meantime, went in a small boat to examine the channel between (*b*) them and the enemy, approaching so near that he sounded round their leading ship with a pole, lest the noise of throwing the lead should discover him. The incessant fatigue of body as well as (*c*) mind which Nelson had undergone during the last three days had so exhausted him that he was earnestly urged to go to his cot, and his old servant, Allen, using that kind of authority which long and affectionate services entitled and enabled him to assume on such occasions, insisted upon his complying. The cot was placed on the floor, and he continued to dictate from it. About eleven, Hardy returned, and reported the practicability of the channel, and the depth of water up to the enemy's line. About one the orders were completed, and half-a-dozen clerks in the foremost cabin proceeded to transcribe them, Nelson frequently calling out to them from his cot to hasten their work, for the wind was becoming fair. Instead of attempting to get a few hours of sleep, he was constantly receiving reports on this important point. At daybreak it was announced as becoming perfectly fair. The clerks finished their work about six. Nelson, who was already up, breakfasted and made signal for all captains. The land forces and five hundred seamen, under Captain Freemantle and the Honourable Colonel Stewart, were to storm the Crown Battery as soon as its fire should be silenced; and Riou—whom Nelson had never seen till this expedition, but whose worth he had instantly perceived, and appreciated as it deserved—had the

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Blanche and *Alemene* frigates, the *Dart* and *Arrow* sloops, and the *Zephyr* and *Otter* fire-ships, given him, with a special command to act as circumstances might require: every other ship had its station appointed.

17. Between eight and nine the pilots and masters were ordered on board the admiral's ship. The pilots were mostly men who had been mates in Baltic traders, and their hesitation about the bearing of the east end of the shoal and the exact line of deep water gave ominous warning of how little their knowledge was to be trusted. The signal for action had been made, the wind was fair—not a moment to be lost. Nelson urged them to be steady, to be resolute, and to decide: but they wanted the only ground for steadiness and decision in such cases, and Nelson had reason to regret that he had not trusted to Hardy's single report. This was one of the most painful moments of his life, and he always spoke of it with bitterness. "I experienced in the Sound," said he, "the misery of having the honour of our country intrusted to a set of pilots who have no other thought than to keep the ships clear of danger, and their own silly heads clear of shot. Everybody knows what I must have suffered, and if any merit attaches itself to me, it was for combating the dangers of the shallows in defiance of them." At length Mr. Bryerly, the master of the *Bellona*, declared that he was prepared to lead the fleet; his judgment was acceded to by the rest; they returned to their ships, and at half-past nine the signal was made to weigh in succession.

18. Captain Murray, in the *Edgar*, led the way, the *Agamemnon* was next in order, but on the first attempt to leave her anchorage she could not weather the edge of the shoal, and Nelson had the grief to see his old ship, in which he had performed so many years' gallant services, immovably aground at a moment when her help was so greatly required. Signal was then made for the *Polyphemus*, and this change in the order of

sailing was executed with the utmost promptitude, yet so much delay had thus been unavoidably occasioned that the *Edgar* was for some time unsupported, and the *Polyphemus*, whose place should be at the end of the enemy's line, where their strength was the greatest, could get no farther than the beginning, owing to the difficulty of the channel; there she occupied indeed an efficient station, but one where her presence was less required. The *Isis* followed, with better fortune, and took her own berth. The *Bellona*, Sir Thomas Boulden Thompson, kept too close on the starboard shoal, and grounded abreast of the outer ship of the enemy; this was the more vexatious, inasmuch as the wind was fair, the room ample, and three ships had led the way. The *Russell*, following the *Bellona*, grounded in like manner; both were within reach of shot, but their absence from their intended stations was severely felt. Each ship had been ordered to pass her leader on the starboard side, because the water was supposed to shoal on the larboard shore. Nelson, who came next after these two ships, thought they had kept too far on the starboard direction, and made signal for them to close with the enemy, not knowing that they were aground, but when he perceived that they did not obey the signal, he ordered the *Elephant's* helm to starboard, and went within these ships; thus quitting the appointed order of sailing, and guiding those which were to follow. The greater part of the fleet were probably, by this act of promptitude on his part, saved from going on shore. Each ship, as she arrived nearly opposite to her appointed station, let her anchor go by the stern, and presented her broadside to the Danes. The distance between each was about half a cable. The action was fought nearly at the distance of a cable's length from the enemy. This, which rendered its continuance so long, was owing to the ignorance and consequent indecision of the pilots. In pursuance of the same error which had led the *Bellona* and the *Russell* aground, they, when the lead was at a quarter less

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five, refused to approach nearer, in dread of shoaling their water on the larboard shore, a fear altogether erroneous, for the water deepened up to the very side of the enemy's line.

19. At five minutes after ten the action began. The first half of our fleet was engaged in about half an hour, and by half past eleven the battle became general. The plan of the attack had been complete; but seldom has any plan been more disconcerted by untoward accidents. Of twelve ships of the line, one was entirely useless, and two others in a situation where they could not render half the service which was required of them. Of the squadron of gun-brigs only one could get into action: the rest were prevented by baffling currents from weathering the eastern end of the shoal; and only two of the bomb-vessels could reach their station on the Middle Ground, and open their mortars on the Arsenal, firing over both fleets. Riou took the vacant station against the Crown Battery with his frigates, attempting with that unequal force a service in which three sail of the line had been directed to assist.

20. Nelson's agitation had been extreme when he saw himself, before the action began, deprived of a fourth part of his ships of the line; but no sooner was he in battle, where his squadron was received with the fire of more than a thousand guns, than, as if that artillery, like music, had driven away all care and painful thoughts, his countenance brightened, and, as a bystander describes him, his conversation became joyous, animated, elevated, and delightful. The commander-in-chief, meantime, near enough to the scene of action to know the unfavourable accidents which had so materially weakened Nelson, and yet too distant to know the real state of the contending parties, suffered the most dreadful anxiety. To get to his assistance was impossible; both wind and current were against him. Fear for the event in such circumstances would naturally preponderate in the bravest mind; and at one o'clock, perceiving that after three hours' endurance, the enemy's fire

was unslackened, he began to despair of success. "I will make the signal of recall," said he to his captain, (*a*) "for Nelson's sake. If he is in a condition to continue the action successfully, he will disregard it; if he is not, it will be an excuse for his retreat, and no blame can be imputed to him." Captain Domett urged him (*b*) at least to delay the signal till he could communicate with Nelson, but, in Sir Hyde's opinion, the danger was too pressing for delay. "The fire," he said, "was too hot for Nelson to oppose; a retreat, he thought, must be made. He was aware of the consequences to his own personal reputation, but it would be cowardly in him to leave Nelson to bear the whole shame of the failure, if shame it should be deemed." Under a mistaken judgment,* therefore, but with this disinterested and generous feeling, he made the signal for retreat.

21. Nelson was at this time, in all the excitement of action, pacing the quarter-deck. A shot through the mainmast knocked the splinters about, and he observed to one of his officers with a smile, "It is warm work; and this day may be the last to any of us at a moment;" and then, stopping short at the gangway, added, with emotion—"but mark you, I would not be elsewhere for thousands." About this time the signal lieutenant called out that No. 39 (the signal for discontinuing the action) was thrown out by the commander-in-chief. He continued to walk the deck, and appeared to take no notice of it. The signal officer met him at the next turn, and asked him if he should repeat it. "No," he replied, "acknowledge it." Presently he called after him to know if the signal for close action was still hoisted, and being answered in the affirmative said, "Mind you keep it so." He now paced the deck, moving the stump of his lost arm in a manner which always indicated great emotion. "Do you know," said he to Mr. Ferguson, "what is shown on board the commander-in-chief? No. 39." Mr. Fergu-

* I have great pleasure in rendering this justice to Sir Hyde Parker's reasoning. The fact is here stated upon the highest and most unquestionable authority

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son asked what that meant. "Why, to leave off action!" Then, shrugging up his shoulders, he repeated the words—"Leave off action? Now, damn me if I do! You know, Foley," turning to the captain, "I have only one eye; I have a right to be blind sometimes." And then, putting the glass to his blind eye, in that mood of mind which sports with bitterness, he exclaimed, "I really do not see the signal!" Presently he exclaimed, "Damn the signal! Keep mine for closer battle flying! That's the way I answer such signals! Nail mine to the mast!" Admiral Graves, who was so situated that he could not discern what was done on board the *Elephant*, disobeyed Sir Hyde's signal in like manner; whether by fortunate mistake or by a like brave intention has not been made known. The other ships of the line, looking only to Nelson, continued the action. The signal, however, saved Riou's little squadron, but did not save its heroic leader. This squadron, which was nearest the commander-in-chief, obeyed and hauled off. It had suffered severely in its most unequal contest. For a long time the *Amazon* had been firing, enveloped in smoke, when Riou desired his men to stand fast and let the smoke clear off, that they might see what they were about. A fatal order, for the Danes then got clear sight of her from the batteries, and pointed their guns with such tremendous effect that nothing but the signal for retreat saved this frigate from destruction. "What will Nelson think of us?" was Riou's mournful exclamation when he unwillingly drew off. He had been wounded in the head by a splinter, and was sitting on a gun, encouraging his men, when, just as the *Amazon* showed her stern to the Trekroner Battery, his clerk was killed by his side, and another shot swept away several marines who were hauling in the main-brace. "Come, then, my boys," cried Riou, "let us die all together!" The words had scarcely been uttered before a raking shot cut him in two. Except had it been Nelson himself, the British navy could not have suffered a severer loss.

22. The action continued along the line with unabated vigour on our side, and with the most determined resolution on the part of the Danes. They fought to great advantage, because most of the vessels in their line of defence were without masts; the few which had any standing had their top-masts struck, and the hulls could only be seen at intervals. The *Isis* must have been destroyed by the superior weight of her enemy's fire, if Captain Inman, in the *Desirée* frigate, had not judiciously taken a situation which enabled him to rake the Dane, and if the *Polyphemus* had not also relieved her. (a) Both in the *Bellona* and the *Isis* many men were lost by the bursting of their guns. The former ship was about forty years old, and these guns were believed to be the same which she had first taken to sea; they were probably originally faulty, for the fragments were full of little air-holes. The *Bellona* lost seventy five men; the *Isis*, 110; the *Monarch*, 210. She was, more than any other line-of-battle ship, exposed to the great battery; and supporting at the same time the united fire of the *Holstein* and the *Zealand*, her loss this day exceeded that of any (b) single ship during the whole war. Amid the (c) tremendous carnage in this vessel some of the men displayed a singular instance of coolness; the pork and peas happened to be in the kettle; a shot knocked its contents about; they picked up the pieces, and ate and fought at the same time.

23. The Prince Royal had taken his station upon one of the batteries, from whence he beheld the action and issued his orders. Denmark had never been engaged in so arduous a contest, and never did the Danes more nobly display their national courage—a courage not more unhappily than impolitically exerted in subserviency to the interest of France. Captain Thura, of the *Indfødsretten*, fell early in the action, and all his officers, except one lieutenant and one marine officer, were either killed or wounded. In the confusion the colours were either struck or shot away; but she was moored athwart one of

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the batteries in such a situation that the British made no attempt to board her, and a boat was despatched to the prince to inform him of her situation. He turned to those about him, and said, "Gentlemen, Thura is killed; which of you will take the command?" Schroedersee, a captain who had lately resigned on account of extreme ill health, answered in a feeble voice, "I will!" and hastened on board. The crew, perceiving a new commander coming alongside, hoisted their colours again, and fired a broadside. Schroedersee, when he came on deck, found himself surrounded by the dead and wounded, and called to those in the boat to get quickly on board; a ball struck him at that moment. A lieutenant who had accompanied him then took the command, and continued to fight the ship. A youth of seventeen, by name Villemoes, particularly distinguished himself on this memorable day. He had volunteered to take the command of a floating battery, which was a raft, consisting merely of a number of beams nailed together with a flooring to support the guns; it was square, with a breastwork full of port-holes, and without masts—carrying twenty-four guns and 120 men. With this he got under the stern of the *Elephant*, below the reach of the stern-chasers, and under a heavy fire of small arms from the marines, fought his raft, till the truce was announced, with such skill as well as courage as to excite Nelson's warmest admiration.

24. Between one and two the fire of the Danes slackened; about two it ceased from the greater part of their line, and some of their lighter ships were adrift. It was, however, difficult to take possession of those which struck, because the batteries on Amak Island protected them, and because an irregular fire was kept up from the ships themselves as the boats approached. This arose from the nature of the action. The crews were continually reinforced from the shore, and fresh men coming on board did not inquire whether the flag had been struck, or perhaps did not heed it; many or most of them never

having been engaged in war before, knowing nothing therefore of its laws, and thinking only of defending their country to the last extremity. The *Danbrog* fired upon the *Elephant's* boats in this manner, though her commodore had removed her pendant and deserted her, though she had struck, and though she was in flames. After she had been abandoned by the commodore, Braun fought her till he lost his right hand, and then Captain Lemming took the command. This unexpected renewal of her fire made the *Elephant* and *Glatton* renew theirs, till she was not only silenced, but nearly every man in the praams ahead and astern of her was killed. When the smoke of their guns died away she was seen drifting in flames before the wind, those of her crew who remained alive and able to exert themselves throwing themselves out at her port-holes.

25. Captain Rothe commanded the *Nyeborg* praam, and perceiving that she could not much longer be kept afloat, made for the inner road. As he passed the line he found the *Aggershuus* praam in a more miserable condition than his own; her masts had all gone by the board, and she was on the point of sinking. Rothe made fast a cable to her stern and towed her off, but he could get her no farther than a shoal called Stubben, when she sunk, and soon after he had worked the *Nyeborg* up to the landing-place that vessel also sunk to her gunwale. Never did any vessel come out of action in a more dreadful plight. The stump of her foremast was the only stick standing; her cabin had been stove in; every gun, except a single one, was dismounted; and her deck was covered with shattered limbs and dead bodies.

26. By half-past two the action had ceased along that part of the line which was astern of the *Elephant*, but not with the ships ahead and the Crown Batteries. Nelson, seeing the manner in which his boats were fired upon when they went to take possession of the prizes, became angry, and said he must either

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send on shore to have this irregular proceeding stopped, or send a fire-ship and burn them. Half the shot from the *Trekroner* and from the batteries at Amak at this time struck the surrendered ships, four of which had got close together, and the fire of the English in return was equally or even more destructive to these poor devoted Danes. Nelson, who was as humane as he was brave, was shocked at this massacre—for such he called it—and, with a presence of mind peculiar to himself, and never more signally displayed than now, he retired into the stern galley, and wrote thus to the Crown Prince:—"Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson has been commanded to spare Denmark when she no longer resists. The line of defence which covered her shores has struck to the British flag; but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, he must set on fire all the prizes that he has taken, without having the power of saving the men who have so nobly defended them. The brave Danes are the brothers and should never be the enemies of the English." A wafer was given him, but he ordered a candle to be brought from the cockpit, and sealed the letter with wax, affixing a larger seal than he ordinarily used. "This," said he, "is no time to appear hurried and informal." Captain Sir Frederick Thesiger, who acted as his aide-de-camp, carried this letter with a flag of truce. Meantime the fire of the ships ahead, and the approach of the *Ramilies* and *Defence* from Sir Hyde's division, which had now worked near enough to alarm the enemy, though not to injure them, silenced the remainder of the Danish line to the eastward of the *Trekroner*. That battery, however, continued its fire. This formidable work, owing to the want of the ships which had been destined to attack it, and the inadequate force of Riou's little squadron, was comparatively uninjured. Towards the close of the action it had been manned with nearly fifteen hundred men, and the intention of storming it, for which every preparation had been made, was abandoned as impracticable.

27. During Thesiger's absence Nelson sent for Freemantle from the *Ganges*, and consulted with him and Foley, whether it was advisable to advance with those ships which had sustained least damage against the yet uninjured part of the Danish line. They were decidedly of opinion that the best thing which could be done was, while the wind continued fair, to remove the fleet out of the intricate channel from which it had to retreat. In somewhat more than half-an-hour after Thesiger had been despatched the Danish adjutant-general, Lindholm, came bearing a flag of truce; upon which the *Trekroner* ceased to fire, and the action closed, after four hours continuance. He brought an inquiry from the prince; What was the object of Nelson's note? The British Admiral wrote in reply: "Lord Nelson's object in sending the flag of truce was humanity; he therefore consents that hostilities shall cease, and that the wounded Danes may be taken on shore. And Lord Nelson will take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn or carry off his prizes as he shall think fit. Lord Nelson, with humble duty to his Royal Highness the Prince, will consider this the greatest victory he has ever gained if it may be the cause of a happy reconciliation and union between his own most gracious sovereign and his Majesty the King of Denmark." Sir Frederick Thesiger was despatched a second time with the reply; and the Danish adjutant-general was referred to the commander-in-chief for a conference upon this overture. Lindholm assenting to this, proceeded to the *London*, which was riding at anchor full four miles off; and Nelson losing not one of the critical moments which he had thus gained, made signal for his leading ships to weigh in succession—they had the shoal to clear, they were much crippled, and their course was immediately under the guns of the *Trekroner*.

28. The *Monarch* led the way. This ship had received six-and-twenty shot between wind and water. She had not a shroud standing; there was a double-headed shot in the heart

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of her foremast ; and the slightest wind would have sent every mast over her side.* The imminent danger from which Nelson had extricated himself soon became apparent ; the *Monarch* touched immediately upon a shoal, over which she was pushed by the *Ganges* taking her amidships ; the *Glatton* went clear ; but the other two, the *Defiance* and the *Elephant*, grounded about a mile from the *Trekroner*, and there remained fixed for many hours, in spite of all the exertions of their wearied crews. The *Desirée* frigate also, at the other end of the line, having gone toward the close of the action to assist the *Bellona*, became fast on the same shoal. Nelson left the *Elephant*, soon after she took the ground, to follow Lindholm. The heat of action was over, and that kind of feeling which the surrounding scene of havoc was so well fitted to produce pressed heavily upon his exhausted spirits. The sky had suddenly become overcast ; white flags were waving from the mastheads of so many shattered ships ; the slaughter had ceased ; but the grief was to come, for the account of the dead was not yet made up, and no man could tell for what friends he would have to mourn. The very silence which follows the cessation of such a battle becomes a weight upon the heart at first, rather than a relief : and though the work of mutual destruction was at an end, the *Danbrog* was at this time drifting about in flames ; presently she blew up, while our boats, which had put off in all directions to assist her, were endeavouring to pick up her devoted crew, few of whom could be saved. The fate of these men, after the gallantry which they had displayed, particularly affected Nelson ; for there was nothing in this action of that indignation against the enemy, and that impression of retributive justice, which at the Nile had given a sterner temper to

* It would have been well if the fleet, before they went under the batteries, had left their spare spars moored out of reach of shot. Many would have been saved which were destroyed lying on the booms, and the hurt done by their splinters would have been saved also. Small craft could have towed them up when they were required, and after such an action so many must necessarily be wanted, that if those which were not in use were wounded, it might thus have been rendered impossible to refit the ships.

his mind, and a sense of austere delight in beholding the vengeance of which he was the appointed minister. The Danes were an honourable foe ; they were of English mould as well as English blood ; and now that the battle had ceased, he regarded them rather as brethren than as enemies. There was another reflection also, which mingled with these melancholy thoughts, and predisposed him to receive them. He was not here master of his own movements, as at Egypt ; he had won the day by disobeying his orders ; and in so far as he had been successful, had convicted the commander-in-chief of an error in judgment. "Well," said he as he left the *Elephant*, "I have fought contrary to orders, and I shall perhaps be hanged ! Never mind, let them !"

29. This was the language of a man who, while he is giving utterance to an uneasy thought, clothes it half in jest because he half repents that it has been disclosed. His services had been too eminent on that day, his judgment too conspicuous, his success too signal, for any commander, however jealous of his own authority, or envious of another's merits, to express anything but satisfaction and gratitude, which Sir Hyde heartily felt and sincerely expressed. It was speedily agreed that there should be a suspension of hostilities for four-and-twenty hours ; that all the prizes should be surrendered and the wounded Danes carried on shore. There was a pressing necessity for this, for the Danes, either from too much confidence in the strength of their position and the difficulty of the channel ; or (*a*) supposing that the wounded might be carried on shore during the action, which was found totally impracticable ; or perhaps from the confusion which the attack excited, had provided no surgeons ; so that when our men boarded the captured ships they found many of the mangled and mutilated Danes bleeding to death for want of proper assistance—a scene of all (*b*) others the most shocking to a brave man's feelings.

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30. The boats of Sir Hyde's division were actively employed all night in bringing out the prizes, and in getting afloat the ships which were on shore. At daybreak, Nelson, who had slept in his own ship, the *St. George*, rowed to the *Elephant*, and his delight at finding her afloat seemed to give him new life. There he took a hasty breakfast, praising the men for their exertions, and then pushed off to the prizes, which had not yet been removed. The *Zealand*, seventy-four, the last which struck, had drifted on the shoal under the Trekroner, and relying, as it seems, upon the protection which that battery might have afforded, refused to acknowledge herself captured, saying that, though it was true her flag was not to be seen, her pendant was still flying, Nelson ordered one of our brigs and three long-boats to approach her, and rowed up himself to one of the enemy's ships to communicate with the commodore. This officer proved to be an old acquaintance whom he had known in the West Indies; so he invited himself on board, and with that urbanity as well as decision which always characterised him, urged his claim to the *Zealand* so well that it was admitted. The men from the boats lashed a cable round her bowsprit, and the gun-vessel towed her away. It is affirmed, and probably with truth, that the Danes felt more pain at beholding this than at all their misfortunes on the preceding day; and one of the officers, Commodore Steen Bille, went to the Trekroner Battery, and asked the commander why he had not sunk the *Zealand* rather than suffer her thus to be carried off by the enemy.

31. This was indeed a mournful day for Copenhagen! It was Good Friday; but the general agitation and the mourning which was in every house made all distinction of days be forgotten. There were at that hour thousands in that city who felt, and more perhaps who needed, the consolations of Christianity, but few or none who could be calm enough to think of its observances. The English were actively employed in

refitting their own ships, securing the prizes, and distributing the prisoners; the Danes, in carrying on shore and disposing of the wounded and the dead. It had been a murderous action. Our loss in killed and wounded was nine hundred and fifty-three. Part of this slaughter might have been spared. The commanding officer of the troops on board one of our ships asked where his men should be stationed? He was told that they could be of no use; that they were not near enough for musketry, and were not wanted at the guns; they had therefore better go below. This, he said, was impossible—it would be a disgrace that could never be wiped away. They were therefore drawn up upon the gangway, to satisfy this cruel point of honour; and there, without the possibility of annoying the enemy, they were mowed down! The loss of the Danes, including prisoners, amounted to about six thousand. The negotiations meantime went on, and it was agreed that Nelson should have an interview with the prince the following day. Hardy and Freemantle landed with him. This was a thing as unexampled as the other circumstances of the battle. A strong guard was appointed to escort him to the palace, as much for the purpose of security as of honour. The populace according to the British account, showed a mixture of admiration, curiosity, and displeasure at beholding that man in the midst of them who had inflicted such wounds upon Denmark. But there were neither acclamations nor murmurs. “The people,” says a Dane, “did not degrade themselves with the former, nor disgrace themselves with the latter: the Admiral was received as one brave enemy ever ought to receive another. He was received with respect.” The preliminaries of the negotiation were adjusted at this interview. During the repast which followed Nelson, with all the sincerity of his character, bore willing testimony to the valour of his foes. He told the prince that he had been in a hundred and five engagements, but that this was the most tremendous of all.

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"The French," he said, "fought bravely; but they could not have stood for one hour the fight which the Danes had supported for four." He requested that Villemoes might be introduced to him; and shaking hands with the youth, told the prince that he ought to be made an admiral. The prince replied: "If, my lord, I am to make all my brave officers admirals, I should have no captains or lieutenants in my service."

32. The sympathy of the Danes for their countrymen who had bled in their defence was not weakened by distance of time or place in this instance. Things needful for the service or the comfort of the wounded were sent in profusion to the hospitals, till the superintendents gave public notice that they could receive no more. On the third day after the action the dead were buried in the naval churchyard; the ceremony was made as public and as solemn as the occasion required—such a procession had never before been seen in that or perhaps in any other city. A public monument was erected upon the spot where the slain were gathered together. A subscription was opened on the day of the funeral for the relief of the sufferers, and collections in aid of it throughout all the churches in the kingdom. This appeal to the feelings of the people was made with circumstances which gave it full effect. A monument was raised in the midst of the church, surmounted by the Danish colours; young maidens, dressed in white, stood round it, with either one who had been wounded in the battle, or the widow and orphans of some one who had fallen; a suitable oration was delivered from the pulpit, and patriotic hymns and songs were afterwards performed. Medals were distributed to all the officers, and to the men who had distinguished themselves. Poets and painters vied with each other in celebrating a battle which, disastrous as it was, had yet been honourable to their country; some, with pardonable sophistry, represented the advantage of the day as on their

own side. One writer discovered a more curious but less disputable ground of satisfaction in the reflection that Nelson, as may be inferred from his name, was of Danish descent, and his actions therefore, the Dane argued, were attributable to Danish valour.

33. The negotiation was continued during the five following days, and in that interval the prizes were disposed of in a manner which was little approved by Nelson. Six line-of-battle ships and eight praams had been taken. Of these, the *Holstein*, sixty-four, was the only one which was sent home.

The *Zealand* was a finer ship, but the *Zealand* and all the others were burned, and their brass battering cannon sunk with the hulls in such shoal water that when the fleet returned from Revel they found the Danes with craft over the wrecks employed in getting the guns up again. Nelson, though he forbore from any public expression of displeasure at seeing the proofs and trophies of his victory destroyed, did not forget to represent to the Admiralty the case of those who were thus deprived of their prize-money. "Whether," said he to Earl St. Vincent, "Sir Hyde Parker may mention the subject to you, I know not, for he is rich and does not want it; nor is it, you will believe me, any desire to get a few hundred pounds that actuates me to address this letter to you; but justice to the brave officers and men who fought on that day. It is true our opponents were in hulks and floats, only adapted for the position they were in; but that made our battle so much the harder, and victory so much the more difficult to obtain. Believe me, I have weighed all the circumstances, and in my conscience I think that the King should send a gracious message to the House of Commons for a gift to this fleet; for what must be the natural feelings of the officers and men belonging to it, to see their rich commander-in-chief burn all the fruits of their victory, which, if fitted up and sent to England (as many of them might have been by dismantling part of our fleet), would have sold for a good round sum."

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34. On the 9th Nelson landed again, to conclude the terms of the armistice. During its continuance the armed ships and vessels of Denmark were to remain in their then actual situation as to armament, equipment, and hostile position; and the treaty of armed neutrality, as far as related to the co-operation of Denmark, was suspended. The prisoners were to be sent on shore; an acknowledgment being given for them, and for the wounded also, that they might be carried to Great Britain's credit in the account of war, in case hostilities should be renewed. The British fleet was allowed to provide itself with all things requisite for the health and comfort of its men. A difficulty arose respecting the duration of the armistice. The Danish commissioners fairly stated their fears of Russia; and Nelson, with that frankness which sound policy and the sense of power seem often to require as well as justify in diplomacy, told them his reason for demanding a long term was, that he might have time to act against the Russian fleet, and then return to Copenhagen. Neither party would yield upon this point; and one of the Danes hinted at the renewal of hostilities. "Renew hostilities!" cried Nelson to one of his friends—for he understood French enough to comprehend what was said, though not to answer it in the same language. "Tell him we are ready at a moment!—ready to bombard this very night!" The conference, however, proceeded amicably on both sides; and as the (a) commissioners could not agree upon this head, they broke up, leaving Nelson to settle it with the prince. A (b) levee was held forthwith in one of the state-rooms; a scene well suited for such a consultation, for all these rooms had been stripped of their furniture, in fear of a bombardment. To a bombardment also Nelson was looking at this time; fatigue and anxiety, and vexation at the dilatory measures of the commander-in-chief, combined to make him irritable; and as he was on the way to the prince's dining-room he whispered to the officer on whose

arm he was leaning, "Though I have only one eye, I can see that all this will burn well." After dinner he was closeted with the prince, and they agreed that the armistice should continue fourteen weeks, and that at its termination fourteen days' notice should be given before the recommencement of hostilities.

35. An official account of the battle was published by Olfert Fischer, the Danish commander-in-chief, in which it was asserted that our force was greatly superior; nevertheless, that two of our ships of the line had struck, that the others were so weakened, and especially Lord Nelson's own ship, as to fire only single shots for an hour before the end of the action; and that this hero himself, in the middle and very heat of the conflict, sent a flag of truce on shore to propose a cessation of hostilities. For the truth of this account the Dane appealed to the prince, and all those who, like him, had been eye-witnesses of the scene. Nelson was exceedingly indignant at such a statement, and addressed a letter, in confutation of it, to the adjutant-general, Lindholm; thinking this incumbent upon him for the information of the prince, since his Royal Highness had been appealed to as a witness: "Otherwise," said he, "had Commodore Fischer confined himself to his own veracity, I should have treated his official letter with the contempt it deserved, and allowed the world to appreciate the merits of the two contending officers." After (a) pointing out and detecting some of the misstatements in the account, he proceeds: "As to his nonsense about victory, his Royal Highness will not much credit him. I sunk, burned, captured, or drove into the harbour the whole line of defence to the southward of the Crown Islands. He says he is told that two British ships struck. Why did he not take possession of them? I took possession of his as fast as they struck. The reason is clear, that he did not believe it; he must have known the falsity

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of the report. He states that the ship in which I had the honour to hoist my flag fired latterly only single guns. It is true; for steady and cool were my brave fellows, and did not wish to throw away a single shot. He seems to exult that I sent on shore a flag of truce. You know, and his Royal Highness knows, that the guns fired from the shore could only fire through the Danish ships which had surrendered, and that if I fired at the shore, it could only be in the same manner. God forbid that I should destroy an unresisting Dane! When they became my prisoners I became their protector."

36. This letter was written in terms of great asperity against the Danish commander. Lindholm replied in a manner every way honourable to himself. He vindicated the commodore in some points and excused him in others, reminding Nelson that every commander-in-chief was liable to receive incorrect reports. With a natural desire to represent the action in a most favourable light to Denmark, he took into the comparative strength of the two parties the ships which were aground, and which could not get into action; and omitted the *Trekroner* and the batteries upon Amak Island. He disclaimed all idea of claiming as a victory "what to every intent and purpose," said he, "was a defeat, but not an inglorious one. As to your lordship's motive for sending a flag of truce, it never can be misconstrued; and your subsequent conduct has sufficiently shewn that humanity is always the companion of true valour. You have done more; you have shown yourself a friend to the re-establishment of peace and good harmony between this country and great Britain. It is therefore with the sincerest esteem I shall always feel myself attached to your lordship." Thus handsomely winding up his reply, he soothed and contented Nelson, who, drawing up a memorandum of the comparative force of the two parties for his own satisfaction, assured Lindholm that if the commodore's statement had been

in the same manly and honourable strain, he would have been the last man to have noticed any little inaccuracies which might get into a commander-in-chief's public letter.

For the battle of Copenhagen Nelson was raised to the rank of Viscount, an inadequate mark of reward for services so splendid and of such paramount importance to the dearest interests of England. There was, however, some prudence in dealing out honours to him step by step; had he lived long enough he would have fought his way up to a dukedom.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. WHEN Nelson informed Earl St. Vincent that the armistice had been concluded, he told him also without reserve his own discontent at the dilatoriness and indecision which he witnessed and could not remedy. "No man," said he, "but those who are on the spot can tell what I have gone through and do suffer. I make no scruple in saying that I would have been at Revel fourteen days ago; that without this armistice the fleet would never have gone but by order of the Admiralty, and with it I dare say we shall not go this week. I wanted Sir Hyde to let me at least go and cruise off Carlscrona, to prevent the Revel ships from getting in. I said I would not go to Revel to take any of those laurels which I was sure he would reap there. Think for me, my dear lord, and if I have deserved well let me return; if ill, for Heaven's sake supersede me, for I cannot exist in this state."

2. Fatigue, incessant anxiety, and a climate little suited to one of a tender constitution, which had now for many years been accustomed to more genial latitudes, made him at this time seriously determine upon returning home. "If the northern business were not settled," he said, "they must send more admirals, for the keen air of the North had cut him to

the heart." He felt the want of activity and decision in the commander-in-chief more keenly, and this affected his spirits, and consequently his health, more than the inclemency of the Baltic. Soon after the armistice was signed Sir Hyde proceeded to the eastward with such ships as were fit for service, leaving Nelson to follow with the rest as soon as those which had received slight damages should be repaired and the rest sent to England. In passing between the isles of Amak and Saltholm most of the ships touched the ground, and some of them stuck fast for a while; no serious injury, however, was sustained. It was intended to act against the Russians first before the breaking up of the frost should enable them to leave Revel; but learning on the way that the Swedes had put to sea to effect a junction with them, Sir Hyde altered his course in hopes of intercepting this part of the enemy's force. Nelson had at this time provided for the more pressing emergencies of the service, and prepared on the 18th to follow the fleet. The *St. George* drew too much water to pass the channel between the isles without being lightened; the guns were therefore taken out and put on board an American vessel. A contrary wind, however, prevented Nelson from moving, and on that same evening, while he was thus delayed, information reached him of the relative situation of the Swedish and British fleets, and the probability of an action. The fleet was nearly ten leagues distant, and both wind and current contrary, but it was not possible that Nelson could wait for a favourable season under such an expectation. He ordered his boat immediately, and stepped into it. Night was setting in—one of the cold spring nights of the North—and it was discovered, soon after they had left the ship, that in their haste they had forgotten to provide him with a boat-cloak. He, however, forbade them to return for one, and when one of his companions offered him his greatcoat, and urged him to make use of it, he replied: "I thank you very much; but, to tell you the truth, my anxiety keeps me sufficiently warm at present."

3. "Do you think," said he presently, "that our fleet has quitted Bornholm? If it has, we must follow it to Carlscrona." About midnight he reached it, and once more got on board the *Elephant*. On the following morning the Swedes were discovered; as soon, however, as they perceived the English approaching they retired, and took shelter in Carlscrona, behind the batteries on the island at the entrance of that port. Sir Hyde sent in a flag of truce, stating that Denmark had concluded an armistice, and requiring an explicit declaration from the Court of Sweden, whether it would adhere to or abandon the hostile measures which it had taken against the rights and interests of Great Britain? The commander, Vice-Admiral Cronstadt, replied that "he could not answer a question which did not come within the particular circle of his duty, but that the king was then at Maloe, and would soon be at Carlscrona." Gustavus shortly afterwards arrived, and an answer was then returned to this effect: "That his Swedish Majesty would not for a moment fail to fulfil, with fidelity and sincerity, the engagements he had entered into with his allies, but he would not refuse to listen to equitable proposals made by deputies furnished with proper authority by the King of Great Britain to the united northern powers." Satisfied with this answer, and with the known disposition of the Swedish Court, Sir Hyde sailed for the Gulf of Finland, but he had not proceeded far before a dispatch boat from the Russian ambassador at Copenhagen arrived, bringing intelligence of the death of the (a) Emperor Paul, and that his successor, Alexander, had accepted the offer made by England to his father—of terminating the dispute by a convention. The British admiral was therefore required to desist from all further hostilities.

4. It was Nelson's maxim, that, to negotiate with effect, force should be at hand, and in a situation to act. The fleet having been reinforced from England, amounted to eighteen sail of the line, and the wind was fair for Revel. There he would have sailed immediately, to place himself between that

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division of the Russian fleet and the squadron at Cronstadt, in case this offer should prove insincere. Sir Hyde, on the other hand, believed that the death of Paul had effected all that was necessary. The manner of that death, indeed, rendered it apparent that a change of policy would take place in the Cabinet of Petersburg; but Nelson never trusted anything to the uncertain events of time which could possibly be secured by promptitude or resolution. It was not therefore without severe mortification that he saw the commander-in-chief return to the coast of Zealand, and anchor in Kiøge Bay, there to wait patiently for what might happen.

5. There the fleet remained till despatches arrived from home, on the 5th of May, recalling Sir Hyde and appointing Nelson commander-in-chief.

6. Nelson wrote to Earl St. Vincent that he was unable to hold this honourable station. Admiral Graves also was so ill as to be confined to his bed, and he entreated that some person might come out and take the command. "I will endeavour," said he, "to do my best while I remain, but, my dear lord, I shall either soon go to heaven, I hope, or must rest quiet for a time. If Sir Hyde were gone, I would now be under sail." On the day when this was written he received news of his appointment. Not a moment was now lost. His first signal as commander-in-chief was to hoist in all launches and prepare to weigh, and on the 7th he sailed from Kiøge. Part of his fleet was left at Bornholm to watch the Swedes, from whom he required and obtained an assurance that the British trade in the Cattegat and in the Baltic should not be molested; and saying how unpleasant it would be to him if anything should happen which might for a moment disturb the returning harmony between Sweden and Great Britain; he apprised them that he was not directed to abstain from hostilities should he meet with the Swedish fleet at sea. Meantime, he himself, with ten sail of the line, two frigates, a brig, and a schooner,

made for the Gulf of Finland. Paul, in one of the freaks of his tyranny, had seized upon all the British effects in Russia, and even considered British subjects as his prisoners. "I will have all the English shipping and property restored," said Nelson, "but I will do nothing violently; neither commit the affairs of my country, nor suffer Russia to mix the affairs of Denmark or Sweden with the detention of our ships." The wind was fair, and carried him in four days to Revel roads. But the bay had been clear of firm ice on the 29th of April, while the English were lying idly at Kioge. The Russians had cut through the ice in the mole, six feet thick, and their whole squadron had sailed for Cronstadt on the third. Before that time it had lain at the mercy of the English. "Nothing," Nelson said, "if it had been right to make the attack, could have saved one ship of them in two hours after our entering the bay."

7. It so happened that there was no cause to regret the opportunity which had been lost, and Nelson immediately put the intentions of Russia to the proof. He sent on shore to say that he came with friendly views, and was ready to return a salute. On their part the salute was delayed till a message was sent to them to inquire for (*a*) what reason; and the officer whose neglect had occasioned the delay was put under arrest. Nelson wrote to the Emperor, proposing to wait on him personally, and congratulate him on his accession, and urged the immediate release of British subjects and restoration of British property.

8. The answer arrived on the 16th; Nelson meantime had exchanged visits with the governor, and the most friendly intercourse had subsisted between the ships and the shore. Alexander's ministers in their (*a*) reply expressed their surprise at the arrival of a British fleet in a Russian port, and their wish that it should (*b*) return; they professed, on the part of Russia, the most friendly disposition towards Great Britain,

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but declined the personal visit of Lord Nelson unless he came in a single ship. There was a suspicion implied in this which stung Nelson, and he said the Russian ministers would never have written thus if their fleet had been at Revel. He wrote an immediate reply expressing what he felt; he told the Court of Petersburg that "the word of a British admiral, when given in explanation of any part of his conduct, was as sacred as that of any sovereign in Europe." And he (*c*) repeated, that "under other circumstances it would have been his anxious wish to (*d*) have paid his personal respects to the emperor, and signed with his own hand the act of amity between the two countries." Having despatched this, he stood out to sea immediately, leaving a brig to bring off the provisions which had been contracted for, and to settle the accounts. "I hope all is right," said he, writing to our ambassador at Berlin; "but seamen are but bad negotiators, for we put to issue in five minutes what diplomatic forms would be five months doing."

9. On his way down the Baltic, however, he met the Russian admiral, Tchitchagof, whom the Emperor, in reply to Sir Hyde's overtures, had sent to communicate personally with the British commander-in-chief. The reply was such as had been wished and expected, and these negotiators, going, seamanlike, straight to their object, satisfied each other of the friendly intentions of their respective governments. Nelson then anchored off Rostock, and there he received an answer to his last despatch from Revel, in which the Russian Court expressed their regret that there should have been any misconception between them, informed him that the British vessels which Paul had detained were ordered to be liberated, and invited him to Petersburg in whatever mode might be most agreeable to himself. Other honours awaited him: the Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, the queen's brother, came to visit him on board his ship; and towns of the inland parts of Mecklen-

burg sent deputations, with their public books of record, that they might have the name of Nelson in them, written by his own hand.

10. From Rostock the fleet returned to Kiøge Bay. Nelson saw that the temper of the Danes towards England was such as naturally arose from the chastisement which they had so recently received. "In this nation," said he, "we shall not be forgiven for having the upper hand of them; I only thank God we have, or they would try to humble us to the dust." He saw also that the Danish Cabinet was completely subservient to France; a French officer was at this time the companion and counsellor of the Crown Prince, and things were done in such open violation of the armistice that Nelson thought a (*a*) second infliction of vengeance would soon be necessary. He wrote to the Admiralty, requesting a clear and explicit reply to his inquiry, whether the commander-in-chief was at liberty to hold the language becoming a British admiral?—"which very probably," said he, "if I am here, will break the armistice and set Copenhagen in a blaze. I see everything which is dirty and mean going on, and the Prince Royal at the head of it. Ships have been masted, guns taken on board, floating batteries prepared, and, except hauling out and completing their rigging, everything is done in defiance of the treaty. My heart burns at seeing the word of a prince, nearly allied to our good King, so falsified; but his conduct is such that he will lose his kingdom if he goes on, for (*b*) Jacobins rule in Denmark. I have made no representations yet, as it would be useless to do so until I have the power of correction. All I beg, in the name of the future commander-in-chief, is that the orders may be clear, for enough is done to break twenty treaties if it should be wished, or to make the Prince Royal humble himself before British (*c*) generosity."

11. Nelson was not deceived in his judgment of the Danish Cabinet, but the battle of Copenhagen had crippled its power.

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The death of the Czar Paul had broken the confederacy, and that Cabinet therefore was compelled to defer till a more convenient season the indulgence of its enmity towards Great Britain. Soon afterwards, Admiral Sir Charles Maurice Pole arrived to take the command. The business, military and political, had by that time been so far completed that the presence of the British fleet soon became no longer necessary. Sir Charles, however, made the short time of his command memorable by passing the Great Belt for the first time with line-of-battle ships; working through the channel against adverse winds. When Nelson left the fleet, this speedy termination of the expedition, though confidently expected, was not certain; and he, in his willingness to weaken the British force, thought at one time of traversing J. land in his boat by the canal to Tonningen, on the Eyder, and finding his way home from thence. This intention was not executed, but he returned in a brig, declining to accept a frigate, which few admirals would have done; especially if, like him, they suffered from sea-sickness in a small vessel. On his arrival at Yarmouth the first thing he did was to visit the hospital and see the men who had been wounded in the late battle; that victory which had added new glory to the name of Nelson, and which was of more importance (a) even than the battle of the Nile to the honour, the strength, and security of England.

12. He had not been many weeks on shore before he was called upon to undertake a service for which no Nelson was required. Bonaparte, who was now First Consul and in reality sole ruler of France, was making preparations upon a great scale for invading England, but his schemes in the Baltic had been baffled; fleets could not be created as they were wanted; and his armies therefore were to come over in gun-boats, and such small craft as could be rapidly built or collected for the occasion. From the former governments of France such threats have only been matter of insult or policy; in Bonaparte they

were sincere, for this adventurer, intoxicated with success, already began to imagine that all things were to be submitted to his fortune. We had not at that time proved the superiority of our soldiers over the French, and the unreflecting multitude were not to be persuaded that an invasion could only be effected by numerous and powerful fleets. A general alarm was excited, and in condescension to this unworthy feeling Nelson was appointed to a command extending from Orfordness to Beachy Head, on both shores; a sort of service, he said, for which he felt no other ability than what might be found in his zeal.

13. To this service, however, such as it was, he applied with his wonted alacrity; and having hoisted his flag in the *Medusa* frigate, he went to reconnoitre Boulogne, the point from which it was supposed the great attempt would be made, and which the French, in fear of an attack themselves, were fortifying with all care. He approached near enough to sink two of their floating batteries and destroy a few gun-boats which were without the pier; what damage was done within could not be ascertained. "Boulogne," he said, "was certainly not a very pleasant place that morning; but," he added, "it is not my wish to injure the poor inhabitants, and the town is spared as much as the nature of the service will admit." Enough was done to show the enemy that they could not with impunity come outside their own ports. Nelson was satisfied by what he saw that they meant to make an attempt from this place, but that it was impracticable, for the least wind at W. N.W. (a) and they were lost. The ports of Flushing and Flanders were better points; there we could not tell by our eyes what means of transport were provided. From thence, therefore, if it came forth at all, the expedition would come. "And what a forlorn undertaking!" said he; "consider cross-tides, etc. As for rowing, that is impossible. It is perfectly right to be prepared for a mad government, but with the active force which has been given me I may pronounce it almost impracticable."

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14. The force had been got together with an alacrity which has seldom been equalled. On the 28th of July we were, in Nelson's own words, literally at the foundation of our fabric of defence; and twelve days afterwards we were so prepared on the enemy's coast that he did not believe they could get three miles from their ports. The *Medusa*, returning to our own shores, anchored in the rolling ground off Harwich; and when Nelson wished to get to the Nore in her, the wind rendered it impossible to proceed there by the usual channel. In haste to be at the Nore, remembering that he had been a tolerable pilot for the mouth of the Thames in his younger days, and thinking it necessary that he should know all that could be known of the navigation, he requested the maritime surveyor of the coast, Mr. Spence, to get him into the Swin by any channel, for neither the pilots whom he had on board, nor the Harwich ones, would take charge of the ship. No vessel drawing more than fourteen feet had ever before ventured over the Naze. Mr. Spence, however, who had surveyed the channel, carried her safely through. The channel has since been called Nelson's, though he himself wished it to be named after the *Medusa*: his name needed no new memorial.

15. Nelson's eye was upon Flushing. "To take possession of that place," he said, "would be a week's expedition for four or five thousand troops." This, however, required a consultation with the Admiralty; and that something might be done meantime, he resolved upon attacking the flotilla in the mouth of Boulogne harbour. This resolution was made in deference to the opinion of others, and to the public feeling which was so preposterously excited. He himself scrupled not to assert that the French army would never embark at Boulogne for the invasion of England; and he owned that this boat warfare was not congenial to his feelings. Into Helvoet or Flushing he should be happy to lead, if Government turned their thoughts that way. "While I serve," said he, "I will do it actively,

and to the very best of my abilities. I require nursing like a child," he added; "my mind carries me beyond my strength, and will do me up. But such is my nature."

16. The attack was made by the boats of the squadron in five divisions, under Captains Somerville, Parker, Cotgrave, Jones, and Conn. The previous essay had taught the French the weak parts of their position, and they omitted no means of strengthening it, and of guarding against the expected attempt. The boats put off about half-an-hour before midnight; but owing to the darkness and tide and half-tide, which must always make night attacks so uncertain on the coasts of the channel, the divisions separated. One could not arrive at all; another not till near daybreak. The others made their attack gallantly; but the enemy were fully prepared; every vessel was defended by long poles, headed with iron spikes, projecting from their sides; strong nettings were braced up to their lower yards; they were moored by the bottom to the shore; they were strongly manned with soldiers and protected by land batteries, and the shore was lined with troops. Many were taken possession of; and though they could not have been brought out, would have been burned, had not the French resorted to a mode of offence which they have often used, but which no other people have ever been wicked enough to employ. The moment the firing ceased on board one of their own vessels, they fired upon it from the shore, perfectly regardless of their own men.

17. The commander of one of the French divisions acted like a generous enemy. He hailed the boats as they approached and cried out in English, "Let me advise you, my brave Englishmen, to keep your distance—you can do nothing here; and it is only uselessly shedding the blood of brave men to make the attempt." The French official account boasted of the victory. "The combat," it said, "took place in sight of both countries; it was the first of the kind, and the historian would

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have cause to make this remark." They guessed our loss at four or five hundred; it amounted to one hundred and seventy-two. In his private letters to the Admiralty, Nelson affirmed that had our force arrived as he intended, it was not all the chains in France which could have prevented our men from bringing off the whole of the vessels. There had been no error committed, and never did Englishmen display more courage. Upon this point Nelson was fully satisfied; but he said he should never bring himself again to allow any attack wherein he was not personally concerned, and that his mind suffered more than if he had had a leg shot off in the affair. He grieved particularly for Captain Parker, an excellent officer, to whom he was greatly attached, and who had an aged father looking to him for assistance. His thigh was shattered in the action, and the wound proved mortal after some weeks of suffering and manly resignation. During this interval Nelson's anxiety was very great. "Dear Parker is my child," said he, "for I found him in distress." And when he received the tidings of his death, he replied: "You will judge of my feelings: God's will be done. I beg that his hair may be cut off and given me; it shall be buried in my grave. Poor Mr. Parker! what a son has he lost! If I were to say I was content, I should lie; but I shall endeavour to submit with all the fortitude in my power. His loss has made a wound in my heart which time will hardly heal."

18. He now wished to be relieved from his service. The country, he said, had attached a confidence to his name which he had submitted to, and therefore had cheerfully repaired to the station; but this boat business, though it might be part of a great plan of invasion, could never be the only one, and he did not think it was a command for a vice-admiral. It was not that he wanted a more lucrative situation, for, seriously indisposed as he was, and low-spirited from private considerations, he did not know, if the Mediterranean were vacant, that

he should be equal to undertake it. Just at this time the peace of Amiens was signed. Nelson rejoiced that the experiment was made, but was well aware that it was an experiment: he saw what he called the misery of peace, unless the utmost vigilance and prudence were exerted; and he expressed in bitter terms his proper indignation at the manner in which the mob of London (*a*) welcomed the French general who brought the ratification; saying that "they made him ashamed of his country."

19. He had purchased a house and estate at Merton, in Surrey, meaning to pass his days there in the society of Sir William and Lady Hamilton. This place he had never seen till he was now welcomed there by the friends to whom he had so passionately devoted himself, and who were not less sincerely attached to him. The place, and everything which Lady Hamilton had done to it, delighted him; and he declared that the longest liver should possess it all. His pensions for his victories and for the loss of his eye and arm amounted, with his half-pay, to about £3,400 a-year. From this he gave £1,800 to Lady Nelson, £200 to a brother's widow and £150 for the education of his children, and he paid £500 interest for borrowed money; so that Nelson was comparatively a poor man, and though much of the pecuniary embarrassment which he endured was occasioned by the separation from his wife, even if that cause had not existed, his income would not have been sufficient for the rank which he held, and the claims which would necessarily be made upon his bounty. The depression of spirits under which he had long laboured arose partly from this state of his circumstances and partly from the other disquietudes in which his connection with Lady Hamilton had involved him—a connection which it was not possible his father could behold without sorrow and displeasure. Mr. Nelson, however, was soon persuaded that the attachment, which Lady Nelson regarded with natural jealousy and resent-

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ment, did not in reality pass the bounds of ardent and romantic admiration: a passion which the manners and accomplishments of (*a*) Lady Hamilton, fascinating as they were, would not have been able to excite if they had not been accompanied by more uncommon intellectual endowments, and by a character which, both in its strength and in its weakness, resembled his own. It did not therefore require much explanation to reconcile him to his son; an event the more essential to Nelson's happiness because a few months afterwards the good old man died, at the age of seventy-nine.

20. Soon after the conclusion of peace tidings arrived of our final and decisive successes in Egypt; in consequence of which the Common Council voted their thanks to the army and navy for bringing the campaign to so glorious a conclusion. When Nelson, after the action of Cape St. Vincent, had been entertained at a City feast, he had observed to the Lord Mayor, that "if the city continued its generosity, the navy would ruin them in gifts." To which the Lord Mayor (*a*) replied, putting his hand upon the admiral's shoulder, "Do you find victories, and we will find rewards." Nelson, (*b*) as he said, had kept his word—had doubly fulfilled his part of the contract; but no thanks had been voted for the battle of Copenhagen, and feeling that he and his companions in that day's glory had a fair and honourable claim to this reward, he took the present opportunity of addressing a letter to the Lord Mayor, complaining of the omission and the injustice. "The smallest services," said he, "rendered by the army or navy to the country have always been noticed by the great city of London, with one exception—the glorious 2nd of April—a day when the greatest dangers of navigation were overcome, and the Danish force, which they thought impregnable, totally taken or destroyed by the consummate skill of our commanders and and by the undaunted bravery of as gallant a band as ever defended the rights of this country. For myself, if I were

only personally concerned, I should bear the stigma attempted to be now first placed upon my brow with humility. But, my lord, I am the natural guardian of the fame of all the officers of the navy, army, and marines, who fought, and so profusely bled, under my command on that day. Again I disclaim for myself more merit than naturally falls to a successful commander; but when I am called upon to speak of the merits of the captains of his Majesty's ships, and of the officers and men, whether seamen, marines, or soldiers, whom I that day had the happiness to command, I then say that never was the glory of this country upheld with more determined bravery than on that occasion; and if I may be allowed to give an opinion as a Briton, then I say that more important service was never rendered to our King and country. It is my duty, my lord, to prove to the brave fellows, my companions in danger, that I have not failed, at every proper place, to represent, as well as I am able, their bravery and meritorious conduct."

21. Another honour, of greater import, was withheld from the conquerors. The King had given medals to those captains who were engaged in the (a) battles of the 1st of June, of Cape St. Vincent, of Camperdown, and of the Nile. Then came the victory at Copenhagen, which Nelson truly called the most difficult achievement, the hardest-fought battle, the most glorious result, that ever graced the annals of our country. He of course expected the medal, and in writing to Earl St. Vincent said he "longed to have it, and would not give it up to be made an English duke." The medal, however, was not given—"For what reason," said Nelson, "Lord St. Vincent best knows." Words plainly implying a suspicion that it was withheld by some feeling of jealousy; and that suspicion estranged him, during the remaining part of his life, from one who had been at one time essentially, as well as sincerely, his friend, and of whose professional abilities he ever entertained the highest opinion.

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22. The happiness which Nelson enjoyed in the society of his chosen friends was of no long continuance. Sir William Hamilton, who was far advanced in years, died early in 1803. He expired in his wife's arms, holding Nelson by the hand, and almost in his last words left her to his protection; requesting him that he would see justice done her by the Government, as he knew what she had done for her country. He left him her portrait in enamel, calling him his dearest friend—the most virtuous, loyal, and truly brave character he had ever known. The codicil containing this bequest concluded with these words: "God bless him, and shame fall on those who do not say Amen." Sir William's pension of £1,200 a year ceased with his death. Nelson applied to Mr. Addington in Lady Hamilton's behalf, stating the important service which she had rendered to the fleet at Syracuse; and Mr. Addington, it is said, acknowledged that she had a just claim upon the gratitude of the country. This barren acknowledgment was all that was obtained; but a sum equal to the pension which her husband had enjoyed was settled on her by Nelson, and paid in monthly payments during his life. A few weeks after this event the war was renewed, and the day after his Majesty's message to Parliament Nelson departed to take the command of the Mediterranean fleet.

23. He took his station immediately off Toulon, and there, with incessant vigilance, waited for the coming out of the enemy. When he had been fourteen months thus employed he received a vote of thanks from the city of London for his skill and perseverance in blockading that port, so as to prevent the French from putting to sea. Nelson had not forgotten the wrong which the city had done to the Baltic fleet by their omission, and did not lose the opportunity which this vote afforded of recurring to that point. "I do assure your lordship," said he, in his answer to the Lord Mayor, "that there is not that man breathing who sets a higher value upon the

thanks of his fellow-citizens of London than myself; but I should feel as much ashamed to receive them for a particular service, marked in the resolution, if I felt that I did not come within that line of service, as I should feel hurt at having a great victory passed over without notice. I beg to inform your lordship that the port of Toulon has never been blockaded by me—quite the reverse. Every opportunity has been offered the enemy to put to sea, for it is there we hope to realize the hopes and expectations of our country.” Nelson then remarked that the junior flag officers of his fleet had been omitted in this vote of thanks, and his surprise at the omission was expressed with more asperity, perhaps, than an offence, so entirely and manifestly unintentional, deserved; but it arose from that generous regard for the feelings as well as interests of all who were under his command, which made him as much beloved in the fleets of Britain as he was dreaded in those of the enemy.

24. Never was any commander more beloved. He governed men by their reason and their affections; they knew that he was incapable of caprice or tyranny, and they obeyed him with alacrity and joy, because he possessed their confidence as well as their love. “Our Nel,” they used to say, “is as brave as a lion and as gentle as a lamb.” Severe discipline he detested, though he had been bred in a severe school; he never inflicted corporal punishment if it were possible to avoid it, and when compelled to enforce it he who was familiar with wounds and death suffered like a woman. In his whole life Nelson was never known to act unkindly towards an officer. If he was asked to prosecute one for ill-behaviour, he used to answer that “there was no occasion for him to ruin a poor devil who was sufficiently his own enemy to ruin himself.” But in Nelson there was more than the easiness and humanity of a happy nature; he did not merely abstain from injury; his was an active and watchful benevolence, ever desirous not only to

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render justice, but to do good. During the peace he had spoken in (a) Parliament upon the abuses respecting prize-money, and had submitted plans to Government for more easily manning the navy, and preventing desertion from it, by bettering the condition of the seamen. He proposed that their certificates should be registered, and that every man who had served with a good character five years in war should receive a bounty of two guineas annually after that time, and of four guineas after eight years. "This," he said, "might at first sight appear an enormous sum for the State to pay, but the average life of a seaman is, from hard service, finished at forty-five: he cannot therefore enjoy the annuity many years, and the interest of the money saved by their not deserting would go far to pay the whole expense."

25. To his midshipmen he ever showed the most winning kindness, encouraging the diffident, tempering the hasty, counselling and befriending both. "Recollect," he used to say, "that you must be a seaman to be an officer, and also that you cannot be a good officer without being a gentleman." A lieutenant wrote to him to say that he was dissatisfied with his captain. Nelson's answer was in that spirit of perfect wisdom and perfect goodness which regulated his whole conduct toward those who were under his command. "I have just received your letter, and I am truly sorry that any difference should arise between your captain, who has the reputation of being one of the bright officers of the service, and yourself, a very young man and a very young officer, who must naturally have much to learn; therefore the chance is that you are perfectly wrong in the disagreement. However, as your present situation must be very disagreeable, I will certainly take an early opportunity of removing you, provided your conduct to your present captain be such that another may not refuse to receive you." The gentleness and benignity of his disposition never made him forget what was due to discipline. Being on one

occasion applied to to save a young officer from a court-martial which he had provoked by his misconduct, his reply was, that "he would do everything in his power to oblige so gallant and good an officer as Sir John Warren," in whose name the intercession had been made; "but what," he added, "would he do if he were here? Exactly what I have done and am still willing to do. The young man must write such a letter of contrition as would be an acknowledgment of his great fault, and with a sincere promise, if his captain will intercede to prevent the impending court-martial, never to so misbehave again. On his captain enclosing me such a letter, with a request to cancel the order for the trial, I might be induced to do it; but the letters and reprimand will be given in the public order-book of the fleet, and read to all the officers. The young man has pushed himself forward to notice, and he must take the consequence. It was upon the quarter-deck, in the face of the ship's company, that he treated his captain with contempt; and I am in duty bound to support the authority and consequence of every officer under my command. A poor ignorant seaman is for ever punished for contempt to *his* superiors."

26. A dispute occurred in the fleet while it was off Toulon, which called forth Nelson's zeal for the rights and interests of the navy. Some young artillery officers, serving on board the bomb-vessels, refused to let their men perform any other duty but what related to the mortars. They wished to have it established that their corps was not subject to the captain's authority. The same pretensions were made in the Channel Fleet about the same time, and the artillery rested their claims to separate and independent authority on board upon a clause in the Act which they interpreted in their favour. Nelson took up the subject with all the earnestness which its importance deserved. "There is no real happiness in this world," said he, writing to Earl St. Vincent as First Lord. "With all content and smiles around me, up start these artillery boys

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(I understand they are not beyond that age) and set us at defiance; speaking in the most disrespectful manner of the navy and its commanders. I know you, my dear lord, so well, that with your quickness the matter would have been settled, and perhaps some of them been broke. I am perhaps more patient, but, I do assure you, not less resolved, if my plan of conciliation is not attended to. You and I are on the eve of quitting the theatre of our exploits; but we hold it due to our successors never, whilst we have a tongue to speak or a hand to write, to allow the navy to be in the smallest degree injured in its discipline by our conduct." To Trowbridge he wrote in the same spirit: "It is the old history, trying to do away the Act of Parliament; but I trust they will never succeed, for when they do, farewell to our naval superiority. We should be prettily commanded! Let them once gain the step of being independent of the navy on board a ship, and they will soon have the other, and command us. But, thank God, my dear Trowbridge, the King himself cannot do away the Act of Parliament. Although my career is nearly run, yet it would embitter my future days and expiring moments to hear of our navy being sacrificed to the army." As the surest way of preventing such disputes, he suggested that the navy should have its own corps of artillery, and a corps of marine artillery was accordingly established.

27. Instead of lessening the power of the commander, Nelson would have wished to see it increased. It was absolutely necessary, he thought, that merit should be rewarded at the moment, and that the officers of the fleet should look up to the commander-in-chief for their reward. He himself was never more happy than when he could promote those who were deserving of promotion. Many were the services which he thus rendered unsolicited, and frequently the officer in whose behalf he had interested himself with the Admiralty did not know to whose friendly interference he was indebted for his

good fortune. He used to say, "I wish it to appear as a God-send." The love which he bore the navy made him promote the interests and honour the memory of all who had added to its glories. "The near relations of brother officers," he said, "he considered as legacies to the service." Upon mention being made to him of a son of Rodney by the Duke of Clarence, his reply was: "I agree with your Royal Highness most entirely, that the son of a Rodney ought to be the *protege* of every person in the kingdom, and particularly of the sea officers. Had I known that there had been this claimant, some of my own lieutenants must have given way to such a name, and he should have been placed in the *Victory*; she is full, and I have twenty on my list, but whatever numbers I have, the name of Rodney must cut many of them out." Such was the proper sense which Nelson felt of what was due to splendid services and illustrious names. His feelings toward the brave men who had served with him are shown by a note in his diary, which was probably not intended for any other eye than his own:—"Nov. 7. I had the comfort of making an old '*Agamemnon*,' George Jones, a gunner into the *Chameleon* brig."

28. When Nelson took the command it was expected that the Mediterranean would be an active scene. Nelson well understood the character of the (*a*) perfidious Corsican who was now sole tyrant of France, and knowing that he was as ready to attack his friends as his enemies, knew therefore that nothing could be more uncertain than the direction of the fleet from Toulon, whenever it should put to sea. "It had as many destinations," he said, "as there were countries." The momentous revolutions of the last ten years had given him ample matter for reflection as well as opportunities for observation. The (*b*) film was cleared from his eyes, and now, when the French no longer went abroad with the cry of liberty and equality, he saw that the oppression and misrule of the

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powers which had been opposed to them had been the main causes of their success, and that those causes would still prepare the way before them. Even in Sicily, where, if it had been possible longer to blind himself, Nelson would willingly have seen no evil, he perceived that the people wished for a change, and acknowledged that they had reason to wish for it. In Sardinia the same burden of misgovernment was felt, and the people, like the Sicilians, were impoverished by a government so utterly incompetent to perform its first and most essential duties, that it did not protect its own coasts from the Barbary pirates. He would fain have had us purchase this island (the finest in the Mediterranean) from its sovereign, who did not receive £5,000 a year from it after its wretched establishment was paid. There was reason to think that France was preparing to possess herself of this important point, which afforded our fleet facilities for watching Toulon not to be obtained elsewhere. An expedition was preparing at Corsica for the purpose, and all the Sardes who had taken part with revolutionary France were ordered to assemble there. It was certain that if the attack were made it would succeed. Nelson thought that the only means to prevent Sardinia from becoming French was to make it English, and that half a million would give the king a rich price and England a cheap purchase. A better and therefore a wiser policy would have been to exert our influence in removing the abuses of the government, for foreign dominion is always in some degree an evil, and allegiance neither can nor ought to be made a thing of bargain and sale. Sardinia, like Sicily and Corsica, is large enough to form a separate state. Let us hope that these islands may ere long be made free and independent. Freedom and independence will bring with them industry and prosperity; and wherever these are found, arts and letters will flourish and the improvement of the human race proceed.

29. The proposed attack was postponed. Views of wider ambition were opening upon Bonaparte, who now almost undisguisedly aspired to make himself master of the continent of Europe, and Austria was preparing for another struggle, to be conducted as weakly and terminated as miserably as the former. Spain, too, was once more to be involved in war by the policy of France; that perfidious government having in view the double object of employing the Spanish resources against England, and exhausting them in order to render Spain herself finally its prey. Nelson, who knew that England and the Peninsula ought to be in alliance, for the common interest of both, frequently expressed his hopes that Spain might resume her national rank among the nations. "We ought," he said, "by mutual consent, to be the very best friends, and both to be ever hostile to France." But he saw that Bonaparte was meditating the destruction of Spain, and that, while the wretched Court of Madrid professed to remain neutral, the appearances of neutrality were scarcely preserved. An order of the year 1771, excluding British ships of war from the Spanish ports, was revived and put in force, while French privateers from these very ports annoyed the British trade, carried their prizes in, and sold them even at Barcelona. Nelson complained of this to the captain-general of Catalonia, informing him that he claimed for every British ship or squadron the right of lying as long as it pleased in the ports of Spain while that right was allowed to other powers. To the British ambassador he said, "I am ready to make large allowances for the miserable situation Spain has placed herself in, but there is a certain line beyond which I cannot submit to be treated with disrespect. We have given up French vessels taken within gunshot of the Spanish shore, and yet French vessels are permitted to attack our ships from the Spanish shore. Your excellency may assure the Spanish Government that in whatever place the Spaniards allow the French to attack us, in that place I shall order the French to be attacked."

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30. During this state of things, to which the weakness of Spain, and not her will, consented, the enemy's fleet did not venture to put to sea. Nelson watched it with unremitting and almost unexampled perseverance. The station off Toulon he called his home. "We are in the right fighting trim," said he: "let them come as soon as they please. I never saw a fleet altogether so well officered and manned: would to God the ships were half so good! The finest ones in the service would soon be destroyed by such terrible weather. I know well enough that if I were to go into Malta I should save the ships during this bad season; but if I am to watch the French I must be at sea, and if at sea, must have bad weather; and if the ships are not fit to stand bad weather they are useless." Then only he was satisfied and at ease when he had the enemy in view. Mr. Elliot, our Minister at Naples, seems at this time to have proposed to send a confidential Frenchman to him with information. "I should be very happy," he replied, "to receive authentic intelligence of the destination of the French squadron, their route, and time of sailing. Anything short of this is useless, and I assure your excellency that I would not upon any consideration have a Frenchman in the fleet except as a prisoner. I put no confidence in them. You think yours good; the queen thinks the same; I believe they are all alike. Whatever information you can get me I shall be very thankful for; but not a Frenchman comes here. Forgive me, but my mother hated the French!"

31. M. Latouche Treville, who had commanded at Boulogne, commanded now at Toulon. "He was sent for on purpose," said Nelson, "as he *beat me* at Boulogne, to beat me again; but he seems very loath to try." One day, while the main body of our fleet was out of sight of land, Rear-Admiral Campbell, reconnoitring with the *Canopus*, *Donegal*, and *Amazon*, stood in close to the port, and M. Latouche, taking advantage of a breeze which sprung up, pushed out with four ships of the

line and three heavy frigates, and chased him about four leagues. The Frenchman, delighted at having found himself in so novel a situation, published a boastful account, affirming that he had given chase to the whole British fleet, and that Nelson had fled before him. Nelson thought it due to the Admiralty to send home a copy of the *Victory's* log upon this occasion. "As for himself," he said, "if his character was not established by that time for not being apt to run away, it was not worth his while to put the world right." "If this fleet gets fairly up with M. Latouche," said he, to one of his correspondents, "his letter, with all his ingenuity, must be different from his last. We had fancied that we chased him into Toulon, for, blind as I am, I could see his water-line when he eluded his topsails up, shutting in Sepet. But from the time of his meeting Captain Hawker in the *Isis* I never heard of his acting otherwise than as a poltroon and a liar. Contempt is the best mode of treating such a miscreant." In spite, however, of contempt, the impudence of this Frenchman half angered him. He said to his brother, "You will have seen Latouche's letter; how he chased me, and how I ran. I keep it, and if I take him, by God he shall eat it!"

32. Nelson, who used to say that in sea affairs nothing is impossible and nothing improbable, feared the more that this Frenchman might get out and elude his vigilance because he was so especially desirous of catching him, and administering to him his own lying letter in a sandwich. M. Latouche, however, escaped him in another way. He died, according to the French papers, in consequence of walking so often up to the signal-post upon Sepet to watch the British fleet. "I always pronounced that would be his death," said Nelson. "If he had come out and fought me, it would at least have added ten years to my life." The patience with which he had watched Toulon he spoke of truly as a perseverance at sea which had never been surpassed. From May, 1803, to August, 1805, he

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himself went out of his ship but three times ; each of those times was upon the King's service, and neither time of absence exceeded an hour. The weather had been so unusually severe that he said the Mediterranean seemed altered. It was his rule never to contend with the gales, but either run to the southward to escape their violence, or furl all the sails and make the ships as easy as possible. The men, though he said flesh and blood could hardly stand it, continued in excellent health, which he ascribed in great measure to a plentiful supply of lemons and onions. For himself he thought he could only last till the battle was over. One battle more it was his hope that he might fight. "However," said he, "whatever happens I have run a glorious race." He was afraid of blindness, and this was the only evil which he could not contemplate without unhappiness. More alarming symptoms he regarded with less apprehension, describing his own "shattered carcase" as in the worst plight of any in the fleet, and he says : "I have felt the blood gushing up the left side of my head, and the moment it covers the brain I am fast asleep." The fleet was in worse trim than the men, but when he compared it with the enemy's, it was with a right English feeling. "The French fleet yesterday," said he in one of his letters, "was to appearance in high feather, and as fine as paint could make them ; but when they may sail, or where they may go, I am very sorry to say is a secret I am not acquainted with. Our weather-beaten ships, I have no fear, will make their sides like a plum-pudding."

33. Hostilities at length commenced between Great Britain and Spain. That country, whose miserable government made her subservient to France, was once more destined to lavish her resources and her blood in furtherance of the designs of a perfidious ally. The immediate occasion of the war was the seizure of four treasure-ships by the English. The act was (*a*) perfectly justifiable, for those treasures were intended to furnish means for France ; but the circumstances which attended

it were as unhappy as they were unforeseen. Four frigates had been despatched to intercept them. They met with an equal force. Resistance therefore became a point of honour on the part of the Spaniards, and one of their ships soon blew up with all on board. Had a stronger squadron been sent this deplorable catastrophe might have been spared—a catastrophe which excited not more indignation in Spain than it did grief in those who were its unwilling instruments, in the English Government and in the English people. On the 5th of October this unhappy affair occurred, and Nelson was not apprised of it till the 12th of the ensuing month. He had indeed sufficient mortification at the breaking out of the Spanish war, an event which it might reasonably have been supposed would amply enrich the officers of the Mediterranean fleet, and repay them for the severe and unremitting duty on which they had been so long employed. But of this harvest they were deprived, for Sir John Orde was sent with a small squadron and a separate command to Cadiz. Nelson's feelings were (b) never wounded so deeply as now. "I had thought," said he, writing in the first flow of freshness of indignation: "I fancied—but nay, it must have been a dream, an idle dream—yet, I confess it, I *did* fancy that I had done my country service, and thus they use me! And under what circumstances and with what pointed aggravation! Yet if I know my own thoughts, it is not for myself, or on my own account chiefly, that I feel the sting and the disappointment. No! it is for my brave officers, for my noble-minded friends and comrades. Such a gallant set of fellows! Such a band of brothers! My heart swells at the thought of them!"

34. War between Spain and England was now declared, and on the 18th of January the Toulon fleet, having the Spaniards to co-operate with them, put to sea. Nelson was at anchor off the coast of Sardinia, where the Madelena Islands form one of the finest harbours in the world, when at three in

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the afternoon of the 19th the *Active* and *Seahorse* frigates brought this long-hoped-for intelligence. They had been close to the enemy at ten on the preceding night, but lost sight of them in about four hours. The fleet immediately unmoored and weighed, and at six in the evening ran through the straits between Biche and Sardinia, a passage so narrow that the ships could only pass one at a time, each following the stern lights of its leader. From the position of the enemy when they were last seen it was inferred that they must be bound round the southern end of Sardinia. Signal was made the next morning to prepare for battle. Bad weather came on, baffling the one fleet in its object and the other in its pursuit. Nelson beat about the Sicilian seas for ten days without obtaining any other information of the enemy than that one of their ships had put into Ajaccio dismasted, and having seen that Sardinia, Naples, and Sicily were safe, believing Egypt to be their destination, for Egypt he ran. The disappointment and distress which he had experienced in his former pursuits of the French through the same seas were now renewed, but Nelson, while he endured these anxious and unhappy feelings, was still consoled by the same confidence as on the former occasion, that though his judgment might be erroneous, under all circumstances he was right in having formed it. "I have consulted no man," said he to the Admiralty, "therefore the whole blame of ignorance in forming my judgment must rest with me. I would allow no man to take from me an atom of my glory had I fallen in with the French fleet, nor do I desire any man to partake any of the responsibility. All is mine, right or wrong." Then stating the grounds upon which he had proceeded, he added: "At this moment of sorrow I still feel that I have acted right." In the same spirit he said to Sir Alexander Ball: "When I call to remembrance all the circumstances, I approve, if nobody else does, of my own conduct."

35. Baffled thus, he bore up for Malta, and met intelligence from Naples that the French, having been dispersed in a gale, had put back to Toulon. From the same quarter he learned that a great number of saddles and muskets had been embarked; and this confirmed him in his opinion that Egypt was their destination. That they should have put back in consequence of storms which he had weathered, gave him a consoling sense of British superiority. "These gentlemen," said he, "are not accustomed to a Gulf of Lyons gale; we have buffeted them for one-and-twenty months, and not carried away a spar." He, however, who had so often braved these gales was now, though not mastered by them, vexatiously thwarted and impeded; and on February 27 he was compelled to anchor in Pulla Bay, in the Gulf of Cagliari. From the 21st of January the fleet had remained ready for battle, without a bulkhead up night or day. He anchored here that he might not be driven to leeward. As soon as the weather moderated he put to sea again; and after again beating about against contrary winds, another gale drove him to anchor in the Gulf of Palma on the 8th of March. This he made his rendezvous; he knew that the french troops still remained embarked, and wishing to lead them into a belief that he was stationed upon the Spanish coast, he made his appearance off Barcelona with that intent. About the end of the month he began to fear that the plan of the expedition was abandoned, and sailing once more towards his old station off Toulon, on the 4th of April he met the *Phæbe*, with news that Villeneuve had put to sea on the last of March with eleven ships of the line, seven frigates, and two brigs. When last seen they were steering toward the coast of Africa. Nelson first covered the channel between Sardinia and Barbary, so as to satisfy himself that Villeneuve was not taking the same route for Egypt which Gantheaume had taken before him, when he attempted to carry reinforcements there. Certain of this, he

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bore up on the 7th for Palermo, lest the French should pass to the north of Corsica, and he despatched cruisers in all directions. On the 11th he felt assured that they were not gone down the Mediterranean, and sending off frigates to Gibraltar, to Lisbon, and to Admiral Cornwallis, who commanded the squadron off Brest, he endeavoured to get to the westward, beating against westerly winds. After five days a neutral gave intelligence that the French had been seen off Cape de Gatte on the 7th. It was soon afterwards ascertained that they had passed the Straits of Gibraltar on the day following; and Nelson, knowing that they might already be half-way to Ireland or to Jamaica, exclaimed that he was miserable. One gleam of comfort only came across him in the reflection that his vigilance had rendered it impossible for them to undertake any expedition in the Mediterranean.

36. Eight days after this certain intelligence had been obtained he described his state of mind thus forcibly in writing to the governor of Malta: "My good fortune, my dear Ball, seems flown away. I cannot get a fair wind, or even a side wind. Dead foul! Dead foul! But my mind is fully made up what to do when I leave the Straits, supposing there is no certain account of the enemy's destination. I believe this ill-luck will go near to kill me; but as these are times for exertion, I must not be cast down, whatever I may feel." In spite of every exertion which could be made by all the zeal and all the skill of British seamen, he did not get in sight of Gibraltar till the 30th April, and the wind was then so adverse that it was impossible to pass the Gut. He anchored in Mazari Bay, on the Barbary shore; obtained supplies from Tetuan; and when on the 5th a breeze from the eastward sprang up at last, sailed once more, hoping to hear of the enemy from Sir John Orde, who commanded off Cadiz, or from Lisbon. "If nothing is heard of them," said he to the Admiralty, "I shall probably think the rumours which have been spread are true, that their

object is the West Indies, and in that case I think it my duty to follow them ; or to the Antipodes, should I believe that to be their destination." At the time when this resolution was taken the physician of the fleet had ordered him to return to England before the hot months.

37. Nelson had formed his judgment of their destination, and made up his mind accordingly, when Donald Campbell, at that time an admiral in the Portuguese service, the same person who had given important tidings to Earl St. Vincent of the movements of that fleet from which he won his title, a second time gave timely and momentous intelligence to the flag of his country. He went on board the *Victory*, and communicated to Nelson his certain knowledge that the combined Spanish and French fleets were bound for the West Indies. Hitherto all things had favoured the enemy. While the British commander was beating up against strong southerly and westerly gales, they had wind to their wish from the N.E., and had done in nine days what he was a whole month in accomplishing. Villeneuve, finding the Spaniards at Carthagena were not in a state of equipment to join him, dared not wait, but hastened on to Cadiz. Sir John Orde necessarily retired at his approach. Admiral Gravina, with six Spanish ships of the line and two French, came out to him, and they sailed without a moment's loss of time. They had about three thousand French troops on board and fifteen hundred Spanish ; six hundred were under orders expecting them at Martinique, and one thousand at Guadaloupe. General Lauriston commanded the troops. The combined fleet now consisted of eighteen sail of the line, six forty-four gun frigates, one of twenty-six guns, three corvettes, and a brig. They were joined afterwards by two new French line-of-battle ships and one forty-four. Nelson pursued them with ten sail of the line and three frigates. "Take you a Frenchman apiece," said he to his captains, "and leave me the Spaniards ; when I haul down my colours I expect you to do the same, and not till then."

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38. The enemy had five-and-thirty days' start, but he calculated that he should gain eight or ten days upon them by his exertions. May 15th he made Madeira, and on June 4th reached Barbadoes, whither he had sent despatches before him. and where he found Admiral Cochrane, with two ships, part of our squadron in those seas being at Jamaica. He found here also accounts that the combined fleets had been seen from St. Lucia on the 28th, standing to the southward, and that Tobago and Trinidad were there objects. This Nelson doubted, but he was alone in his opinion, and yielded with these foreboding words—"If your intelligence proves false, you lose me the French fleet." Sir William Myers offered to embark here with two thousand troops; they were taken on board, and the next morning he sailed for Tobago. Here accident confirmed the false intelligence which had, whether from intention or error, misled him. A merchant at Tobago, in the general alarm, not knowing whether this fleet was friend or foe, sent out a schooner to reconnoitre, and acquaint him by signal. The signal which he had chosen happened to be the very one which had been appointed by Colonel Shipley, of the Engineers, to signify that the enemy were at Trinidad; and as this was at the close of the day there was no opportunity of discovering the mistake. An American brig was met with about the same time, the master of which, with that propensity to deceive the English and assist the French in any manner which has been but too common among his countrymen, affirmed that he had been boarded off Granada a few days before by the French, who were standing towards the Bocas of Trinidad. This fresh intelligence removed all doubts. The ships were cleared for action before daylight, and Nelson entered the Bay of Paria on the 7th, hoping and expecting to make the mouths of the Orinoco as famous in the annals of the British navy as those of the Nile. Not an enemy was there; and it was discovered that accident and artifice had combined to lead him so far to

leeward that there could have been little hope of fetching to windward of Granada for any other fleet. Nelson, however, with skill and exertions never exceeded and almost unexampled, bore for that island.

39. Advices met him on the way, that the combined fleets, having captured the Diamond Rock, were then at Martinique, on the 4th, and were expected to sail that night for the attack of Granada. On the 9th Nelson arrived off that island, and there learned that they had passed to leeward of Antigua the preceding day, and taken a homewardbound convoy. Had it not been for false information, upon which Nelson had acted reluctantly and in opposition to his own judgment, he would have been off Port Royal just as they were leaving it, and the battle would have been fought on the spot where Rodney defeated De Grasse. This he remembered in his vexation; but he had saved the colonies and above two hundred ships laden for Europe, which would else have fallen into the enemy's hands, and he had the satisfaction of knowing that the mere terror of his name had effected this, and had put to flight the allied enemies, whose force nearly doubled that before which they fled. That they were flying back to Europe he believed, and for Europe he steered in pursuit on the 13th, having disembarked the troops at Antigua, and taking with him the *Spartiate*, 74, the only addition to the squadron with which he was pursuing so superior a force. Five days afterwards, the *Amazon* brought intelligence that she had spoke a schooner who had seen them, on the evening of the 15th, steering to the north, and by computation eighty-seven leagues off. Nelson's diary at this time denotes his great anxiety and his perpetual and all-observing vigilance:—"June 21, midnight.—Nearly calm; saw three planks, which I think came from the French fleet. Very miserable, which is very foolish." On the 17th of July he came in sight of Cape St. Vincent, and steered for Gibraltar. "June 18th," his diary says, "Cape Spartel in sight, but

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no French fleet, nor any information about them. How sorrowful this makes me, but I cannot help myself." The next day he anchored at Gibraltar, and on the 20th, says he, "I went on shore for the first time since June 16th, 1803; and from having my foot out of the *Victory*, two years, wanting ten days."

40. Here he communicated with his old friend Collingwood, who, having been detached with a squadron when the disappearance of the combined fleets and of Nelson in their pursuit was known in England, had taken his station off Cadiz. He thought that Ireland was the enemy's ultimate object; that they would now liberate the Ferrol squadron, which was blocked up by Sir Robert Calder, call for the Rochefort ships, and then appear off Ushant with three or four and thirty sail, there to be joined by the Brest fleet. With this great force he supposed they would make for Ireland, the real mark and bent of all their operations; and their flight to the West Indies, he thought, had been merely undertaken to take off Nelson's force, which was the great impediment to their undertaking.

41. Collingwood was gifted with great political penetration. As yet, however, all was conjecture concerning the enemy, and Nelson having victualled and watered at Tetuan, stood for Ceuta on the 24th, still without information of their course. Next day intelligence arrived that the *Curieux* brig had seen them on the 19th standing to the northward. He proceeded off Cape St. Vincent, rather cruising for intelligence than knowing whither to betake himself, and here a case occurred that, more than any other event in real history, resembles those whimsical proofs of sagacity which Voltaire, in his "Zadig," has borrowed from the Orientals. One of our frigates spoke an American, who, a little to the westward of the Azores, had fallen in with an armed vessel, appearing to be a dismasted privateer, deserted by her crew, which had been run on board by another ship, and had been set fire to, but the

fire had gone out. A log-book and a few seamen's jackets were found in the cabin, and these were brought to Nelson. The log-book closed with these words: "Two large vessels in the W.N.W.;" and this led him to conclude that the vessel had been an English privateer cruising off the Western Islands. But there was in this book a scrap of dirty paper filled with figures. Nelson, immediately upon seeing it, observed that the figures were written by a Frenchman, and after studying this for a while, said: "I can explain the whole. The jackets are of French manufacture, and prove that the privateer was in possession of the enemy. She had been chased and taken by the two ships that were seen in the W.N.W. The prize-master, going on board in a hurry, forgot to take with him his reckoning; there is none in the log-book, and the dirty paper contains her work for the number of days since the privateer last left Corvo, with an unaccounted-for run, which I take to have been the chase, in his endeavour to find out her situation by back-reckonings. By some mismanagement, I conclude, she was run on board of by one of the enemy's ships, and dismasted. Not liking delay (for I am satisfied that those two ships were the advanced ones of the French squadron), and fancying we were close at their heels, they set fire to the vessel, and abandoned her in a hurry. If this explanation be correct, I infer from it that they have gone more to the northward, and more to the northward I will look for them." This course accordingly he held, but still without success. Still persevering and still disappointed, he returned near enough to Cadiz to ascertain that they were not there, traversed the Bay of Biscay, and then, as a last hope, stood over for the north-west coast of Ireland, against adverse winds, till on the evening of the 12th of August he learned that they had not been heard of there. Frustrated thus in all his hopes, after a pursuit to which, for its extent, rapidity, and perseverance, no parallel can be produced, he judged it best to reinforce the Channel Fleet with

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his squadron, lest the enemy, as Collingwood apprehended, should bear down upon Brest with their whole collected force. On the 15th he joined Admiral Cornwallis off Ushant. No news had yet been obtained of the enemy, and on the same evening he received orders to proceed with the *Victory* and *Superb* to Portsmouth.

CHAPTER IX.

1. At Portsmouth Nelson at (a) length found news of the combined fleets. Sir Robert Calder, who had been sent out to intercept their return, had fallen in with them on the 22nd of July, sixty leagues west of Cape Finisterre. Their force consisted of twenty sail of the line, three fifty-gun ships, five frigates, and two brigs; his, of fifteen line-of-battle ships, two frigates, a cutter, and a lugger. After an action of four hours he had captured an eighty-four and a seventy-four, and then thought it necessary to bring to the squadron for the purpose of securing their prizes. The hostile fleets remained in sight of each other till the 26th, when the enemy bore away. The capture of two ships from so superior a force would have been considered as no inconsiderable victory a few years earlier, but Nelson had introduced a new era in our naval history, and the nation felt respecting this action as he had felt on a (b) somewhat similar occasion. They regretted that Nelson, with his eleven ships, had not been in Sir Robert Calder's place, and their disappointment was generally and loudly expressed.

2. Frustrated as his own hopes had been, Nelson had yet the high satisfaction of knowing that his judgment had never been more conspicuously approved, and that he had rendered essential service to his country by (a) driving the enemy from those islands where they expected there could be no force capable of opposing them. The West India merchants in London, as men

whose interests were more immediately benefited, appointed a deputation to express their thanks for his great and judicious exertions. It was now his intention to rest awhile from his labours, and recruit himself, after all his fatigues and cares, in the society of those whom he loved. All his stores were brought up from the *Victory*, and he found in his house at Merton the enjoyment which he had (*b*) anticipated. (*c*) Many days had not elapsed before Captain Blackwood, on his way to London with despatches, called on him at five in the morning. Nelson, who was already dressed, exclaimed, the moment he saw him: "I am sure you bring me news of the French and Spanish fleets! I think I shall yet have to beat them!" They had relitted at Vigo, after the indecisive action with Sir Robert Calder; then proceeded to Ferrol, brought out the squadron from thence, and with it, (*d*) entered Cadiz in safety. "Depend on it, Blackford," he repeatedly said, "I shall yet give M. Villeneuve a drubbing." But when Blackford had left him he wanted resolution to declare his wishes to Lady Hamilton and his sisters, and endeavored to drive away the thought. He had done enough; he said, "Let the man trudge it who has lost his budget!" His countenance belied his lips; and as he was pacing one of the walks in the garden, which he used to call the quarter deck, Lady Hamilton came up to him and told him she saw he was uneasy. He smiled, and said: "No, he was as happy as possible; he was surrounded by his family, his health was better since he had been on shore, and he would not give sixpence to call the king his uncle." She replied that she did not believe him, that she knew he was longing to get at the combined fleets, that he considered them as his own property, that he would be miserable if any man but himself did the business, and that he ought to have them as the price and reward of his two years' long watching and his hard chase. "Nelson," said she, however we may lament your absence, offer your services; they

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will be accepted, and you will gain a quiet heart by it; you will have a glorious victory, and then you may return here, and be happy. He looked at her with tears in his eyes: "Brave Emma! Good Emma! If there were more Emmas, there would be more Nelsons."

3. His services were as willingly accepted as they were offered, and Lord Barham, giving him the list of the navy, desired him to choose his own officers. "Choose yourself my lord," was his reply; "the same spirit actuates the whole profession; you cannot choose wrong." Lord Barham then desired him to say what ships and how many he would wish, in addition to the fleet which he was going to command, and said they should follow him as soon as each was ready. No appointment was ever more in unison with the feelings and judgment of the whole nation. They, like Lady Hamilton, thought that the destruction of the combined fleets ought properly to be Nelson's work: that he who had been

Half around the sea-girt ball,
The hunter of the recreant Gaul,*

ought to reap the spoils of the chase, which he had watched so long and so perseveringly pursued.

4. Unremitting exertions were made to equip the ships which he had chosen, and especially to refit the *Victory*, which was once more to bear his flag. Before he left London he called at his upholsterer's, where the coffin which Captain Hallowell had given him was deposited, and desired that its history might be engraven upon the lid, saying, it was highly probable he might want it on his return. He seemed, indeed, to have been impressed with an expectation that he should fall in the battle. In a letter to his brother, written immediately after his return, he had said: "We must not talk of Sir Robert Calder's battle. I might not have done so much with my small force. If I had fallen in with them, you might probably have been a lord be-

* "Songs of Trafalgar."

fore I wished, for I know they meant to make a dead set at the *Victory*." Nelson had once regarded the prospect of death with gloomy satisfaction; it was when he anticipated the upbraidings of his wife and the displeasure of his venerable father. The state of his feelings now was expressed in his private journal in these words: "Friday night (Sept. 13th), at half-past ten, I drove from dear, dear Merton, where I left all (a) which I hold dear in this world, to go to serve my king and country. May the great God whom I adore enable me to fulfil the expectations of my country! And if it is His good pleasure that I should return, my thanks will never cease being offered up to the throne of His mercy. If it is His good providence to cut short my days upon earth, I bow with the greatest submission; relying that He will protect those so dear to me whom I may leave behind! His will be done. Amen! Amen! Amen!"

5. Early on the following morning he reached Portsmouth, and having despatched his business on shore, endeavoured to elude the populace by taking a byeway to the beach, but a crowd collected in his train, pressing forward to obtain sight of his face; many were in tears, and many knelt down before him and blessed him as they passed. England has had many heroes, but (b) never one who so entirely possessed the love of his fellow-countrymen as Nelson. All men knew that his heart was as humane as it was fearless; that there was not in his nature the slightest alloy of selfishness or cupidity, but that with perfect and entire devotion he served his country (c) with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his strength; and therefore they loved him as truly and as fervently as he loved England. They pressed upon the parapet to gaze after him when his barge pushed off, and he was returning their cheers by waving his hat. The sentinels who endeavoured to prevent them from trespassing upon this ground, were wedged among the crowd, and an officer, who, not very prudently upon

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such an occasion, ordered them to drive the people down with their bayonets, was compelled speedily to retreat; for the people would not be debarred from gazing till the last moment upon the hero—the darling hero—of England.

6. He arrived off Cadiz on the 29th of September—his birthday. Fearing that, if the enemy knew his force, they might be deterred from venturing to sea, he kept out of sight of land, desired Collingwood to fire no salute and hoist no colours, and wrote to Gibraltar to request that the force of the fleet might not be inserted there in the "Gazette." His reception in the Mediterranean fleet was as gratifying as the farewell of his countrymen at Portsmouth; the officers, who came on board to welcome him, forgot his rank as commander in their joy at seeing him again. On the day of his arrival Villeneuve received orders to put to sea the first opportunity. Villeneuve, however, hesitated when he heard that Nelson had resumed the command. He called a council of war, and their determination was that it would not be expedient to leave Cadiz unless they had reason to believe themselves stronger by one-third than the British force. In the public measures of this country secrecy is seldom practicable and seldom attempted; here, however, by the precautions of Nelson and the wise measures of the Admiralty, the enemy were for once kept in ignorance; for, as the ships appointed to reinforce the Mediterranean fleet were despatched singly, each as soon as it was ready, their collected number was not stated in the newspapers, and their arrival was not known to the enemy. But the enemy knew that Admiral Louis, with six sail, had been detached for stores and water to Gibraltar. Accident also contributed to make the French admiral doubt whether Nelson himself had actually taken the command. An American, lately arrived from England, maintained that it was impossible, for he had seen him only a few days before in London, and at that time there was no rumour of his going again to sea.

7. The station which Nelson had chosen was some fifty or sixty miles to the west of Cadiz, near Cape St. Mary's. At this distance he hoped to decoy the enemy out, while he guarded against the danger of being caught with a westerly wind near Cadiz, and driven within the Straits. The blockade of the port was rigorously enforced, in hopes that the combined fleet might be forced to sea by want. The Danish vessels therefore, which were (*a*) carrying provisions from the French ports in the bay, under the name of Danish property, to all the little ports from Ayamonte to Algeziras, from whence they were conveyed in coasting boats to Cadiz, were seized. Without this proper exertion of power the blockade would have been rendered nugatory by the advantage thus taken of the neutral flag. The supplies from France were thus effectually cut off. There was now every indication that the enemy would speedily venture out; officers and men were in the highest spirits at the prospect of giving them a decisive blow—such, indeed, as would put an end to (*b*) all further contest upon the seas. Theatrical amusements were performed every evening in most of the ships, and "God save the King" was the hymn with which the sports concluded. "I verily believe," said Nelson, writing on the 6th of October, "that the country will soon be put to some expense on my account, either a monument or a new pension and honors; for I have not the smallest doubt but that a very few days, almost hours, will put us in battle. The success no man can insure, but for the fighting them, if they can be got at, I pledge myself. The sooner the better; I don't like to have these things upon my mind."

8. At this time he was not without some cause of anxiety; he was in want of frigates—the eyes of the fleet, as he always called them, to the want of which the enemy before were indebted for their escape, and Bonaparte for his arrival in Egypt. He had only twenty-three ships; others were on the way, but they might come too late; and though Nelson never

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doubted of victory, mere victory was not what he looked to: he wanted to annihilate the enemy's fleet. The Carthagena squadron might effect a junction with this fleet on the one side, and on the other it was to be expected that a similar attempt would be made by the French from Brest; in either case a formidable contingency to be apprehended by the blockading force. The Rochefort squadron did push out, and had nearly caught the *Agamemnon* and *L'Aimable* in their way to reinforce the British admiral. Yet Nelson at this time weakened his own fleet. He had the unpleasant task to perform of sending home Sir Robert Calder, whose conduct was to be made the subject of a court-martial in consequence of the general dissatisfaction which had been felt and expressed at his imperfect victory. Sir Robert Calder and Sir John Orde, Nelson believed to be the only two enemies whom he had ever had in his profession; and, from that sensitive delicacy which distinguished him, this made him the more scrupulously anxious to show every possible mark of respect and kindness to Sir Robert. He wished to detain him till after the expected action, when the services which he might perform, and the triumphant joy which would be excited, would leave nothing to be apprehended from an inquiry into the previous engagement. Sir Robert, however, whose situation was very painful, did not choose to delay a trial from the result of which he confidently expected a complete justification; and Nelson, instead of sending him home in a frigate, insisted on his returning in his own ninety-gun ship, ill as such a ship could at that time be spared. Nothing could be more honourable than the feeling by which Nelson was influenced, but at such a crisis it ought not to have been indulged.

9. On the 9th Nelson sent Collingwood what he called in his diary "the Nelson-touch." "I send you," said he, "my plan of attack, as far as a man dare venture to guess at the very uncertain position the enemy may be found in; but it is to

place you perfectly at ease respecting my intentions, and to give full scope to your judgment for carrying them into effect. We can, my dear Coll, have no little jealousies. We have only one great object in view, that of annihilating our enemies, and getting a glorious peace for our country. No man has more confidence in another than I have in you, and no man will render your services more justice than your very old friend, (a) Nelson and Bronte." The order of sailing was to be the order of battle—the fleet in two lines, with an advanced squadron of eight of the fastest sailing two deckers. The second in command, having the entire direction of his line, was to break through the enemy, about the twelfth ship from their rear; (b) he would lead through the centre, and the advanced squadron was to cut off three or four ahead of the centre. This plan was to be adapted to the strength of the enemy, so that they should always be one-fourth superior to those whom they cut off. Nelson said that "his admirals and captains, knowing his precise object to be that of a close and decisive action, would supply any deficiency of signals, and act accordingly. In case signals cannot be seen or clearly understood, no captain can do wrong if he places his ship alongside that of an enemy. One of the last orders of this admirable man was that the name and family of every officer, seaman, and marine, who might be killed or wounded in action, should be as soon as possible returned to him, in order to be transmitted to the chairman of the patriotic fund, that the case might be taken into consideration for the benefit of the sufferer or his family.

10. About half past nine in the morning of the 19th the *Mars*, being the nearest to the fleet of the ships which formed the line of communication with the frigates in shore, repeated the signal that the enemy were coming out of port. The wind was at this time very light, with partial breezes, mostly from the S.S.W. Nelson ordered the signal to be made for a chase in the south east quarter. About two the repeating ships

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announced that the enemy were at sea. All night the British fleet continued under all sail, steering to the south-east. At daybreak they were in the entrance of the Straits, but the enemy were not in sight. About seven, one of the frigates made signal that the enemy were bearing north. Upon this the *Victory* hove to, and shortly afterwards Nelson made sail again to the northward. In the afternoon the wind blew fresh from the south west, and the English began to fear that the foe might be forced to return to port.

11. A little before sunset, however, Blackwood, in the *Euryalus*, telegraphed that they appeared determined to go to the westward. "And that," said the Admiral in his diary, "they shall not do, if it is in the power of Nelson and Bronte to prevent them." Nelson had signified to Blackwood that he depended upon him to keep sight of the enemy. They were observed so well that all their motions were made known to him, and as they wore twice, he inferred that they were aiming to keep the port of Cadiz open, and would retreat there as soon as they saw the British fleet; for this reason he was very careful not to approach near enough to be seen by them during the night. At daybreak the combined fleets were distinctly seen from the *Victory's* deck, formed in a close line of battle ahead, on the starboard tack, about twelve miles to leeward, and standing to the south. Our fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line and four frigates; theirs of thirty three and seven large frigates. Their superiority was greater in size and weight of metal than in numbers. They had four thousand troops on board, and the best riflemen that could be procured, many of them Tyrolese, were dispersed through the ships. Little did the Tyrolese and little did the Spaniards at that day imagine what horrors the wicked tyrant whom they served was preparing for their country.

12. Soon after daylight Nelson came upon deck. The 21st of October was a festival in his family, because on that day his

uncle, Captain Suckling, in the *Dreadnaught*, with two other line-of-battle ships, had beaten off a French squadron of four sail of the line and three frigates. Nelson, with that sort of superstition from which few persons are entirely exempt, had more than once expressed his persuasion that this was to be the day of his battle also, and he was well pleased at seeing his prediction about to be verified. The wind was now from the west—light breezes, with a long heavy swell. Signal was made to bear down upon the enemy in two lines, and the fleet set all sail. Collingwood, in the *Royal Sovereign*, led the lee line of thirteen ships; the *Victory* led the weather line of fourteen. Having seen that all was as it should be, Nelson retired to his cabin and wrote the following prayer:—

“May the great God whom I worship grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory, and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it, and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet! For myself individually, I commit my life to Him that made me, and may His blessing alight on my endeavours for serving my country faithfully! To Him I resign myself, and the just cause which is entrusted to me to defend. Amen, Amen, Amen.”

Having thus discharged his devotional duties, he annexed, in the same diary, the following remarkable writing:—

“October 21st, 1805.—Then in sight of the combined fleets of France and Spain, distant about ten miles.

“Whereas, the eminent services of Emma Hamilton, widow of the Right Honourable Sir William Hamilton, have been of the very greatest service to my king and my country, to my knowledge, without ever receiving any reward from either our king or country:

“First, that she obtained the King of Spain's letter, in 1796, to his brother, the King of Naples, acquainting him of his intention to declare war against England; from which letter

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the Ministry sent out orders to the then Sir John Jervis to strike a stroke, if opportunity offered, against either the arsenals of Spain or her fleets. That neither of these was done is not the fault of Lady Hamilton; the opportunity might have been offered :

"Secondly, the British fleet under my command could never have returned the second time to Egypt had not Lady Hamilton's influence with the Queen of Naples caused letters to be wrote to the governor of Syracuse, that he was to encourage the fleet's being supplied with everything, should they put into any port in Sicily. We put into Syracuse, and received every supply, went to Egypt, and destroyed the French fleet.

"Could I have rewarded these services, I would not now call upon my country; but as that has not been in my power, I leave Emma Lady Hamilton therefore a legacy to my king and country, that they will give her an ample provision to maintain her rank in life.

"I also leave to the beneficence of my country my adopted daughter, Horatia Nelson Thompson; and I desire she will use in future the name of Nelson only.

"These are the only favours I ask of my king and country at this moment when I am going to fight their battle. May God bless my king and country, and all those I hold dear! My relations it is needless to mention; they will of course be amply provided for.

"NELSON AND BRONTE.

"Witness { HENRY BLACKWOOD.
 { T. M. HARDY."

13. The child of whom this writing speaks was believed to be his daughter, and so indeed he called her the last time he pronounced her name. She was then about five years old, living at Merton under Lady Hamilton's care. The last minutes which Nelson passed at Merton were employed in praying over this child as she lay sleeping. A portrait of Lady



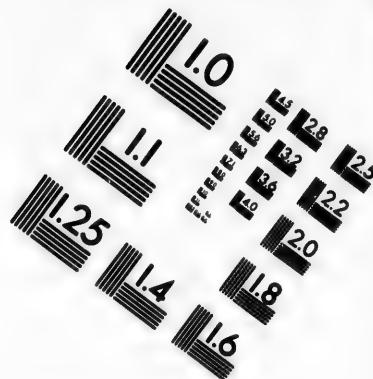
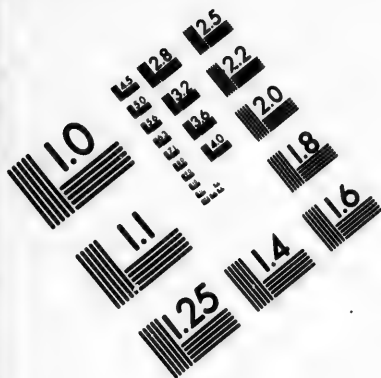
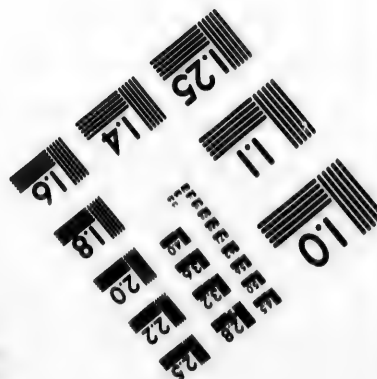
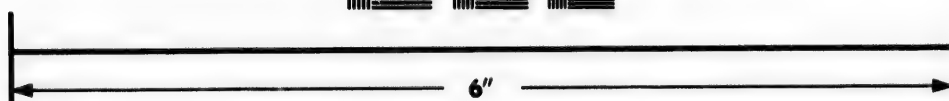
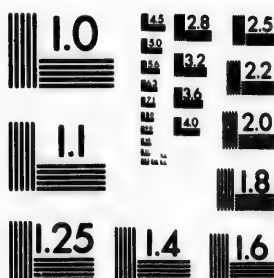


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Hamilton hung in his cabin ; and no Catholic ever beheld the picture of his patron saint with devouter reverence. The undisguised and romantic passion with which he regarded it amounted almost to superstition ; and when the portrait was now taken down, in clearing for action, he desired the men who removed it to "take care of his guardian angel." In this manner he frequently spoke of it, as if he believed there were a virtue in the image. He wore a miniature of her also next his heart.

14. Blackwood went on board the *Victory* about six. He found him in good spirits, but very calm ; not in that exhilaration which he had felt upon entering into battle at Aboukir and Copenhagen ; he knew that his own life would be particularly aimed at, and seems to have looked for death with almost as sure an expectation as for victory. His whole attention was fixed upon the enemy. They tacked to the northward, and formed their line on the larboard tack ; thus bringing the shoals of Trafalgar and St. Pedro under the lee of the British, and keeping the port of Cadiz open for themselves. This was judiciously done ; and Nelson, aware of all the advantages which he gave them, made signal to prepare to anchor.

15. Villeneuve was a skilful seaman, worthy of serving a better master and a better cause. His plan of defence was as well conceived and as original as the plan of attack. He formed the fleet in a double line, every alternate ship being about a cable's length to windward of her second ahead and astern. Nelson, certain of a triumphant issue to the day, asked Blackford what he should consider as a victory. That officer answered, that, considering the handsome way in which battle was offered by the enemy, their apparent determination for a fair trial of strength, and the situation of the land, he thought it would be a glorious result if fourteen were captured. He replied, "I shall not be satisfied with less than twenty." Soon afterwards he asked him if he did not think there was a

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signal wanting. Captain Blackwood made answer that he thought the (a) whole fleet seemed very clearly to understand what they were about. These words were scarcely spoken before that signal was made which will be remembered as long as the language or even the memory of England shall endure—Nelson's last signal: "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY!" It was received throughout the fleet with a shout of answering acclamation, made sublime by the spirit which it breathed and the feelings which it expressed. "Now," said Lord Nelson, "I can do no more. We must trust to the great Disposer of all events and the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty."

16. He wore that day, as usual, his admiral's frock coat, bearing on the left breast four stars of the different orders with which he was invested. Ornaments which rendered him so conspicuous a mark for the enemy were beheld with ominous apprehension by his officers. It was known that there were riflemen on board the French ships, and it could not be doubted but that his life would be particularly aimed at. They communicated their fears to each other, and the surgeon, Mr. Beatty,* spoke to the chaplain, Dr. Scott, and to Mr. Scott, the public secretary, desiring that some person would entreat him to change his dress or cover the stars; but they knew that such a request would highly displease him. "In honour I gained them," he had said when such a thing had been hinted to him formerly, "and in honour I will die with them." Mr. Beatty, however, would not have been deterred by any fear of exciting his displeasure from speaking to him himself upon a subject in which the weal of England, as well as the life of Nelson was concerned; but he was ordered from the deck before he could find an opportunity. This was a point upon which Nelson's

* In this part of the work I have chiefly been indebted to this gentleman's "Narrative of Lord Nelson's Death," a document as interesting as it is authentic.

officers knew it was hopeless to remonstrate or reason with him; but both Blackwood and his own captain, Hardy, represented to him how advantageous to the fleet it would be for him to keep out of action as long as possible, and he consented at last to let the *Leviathan*, and the *Temeraire*, which were sailing abreast of the *Victory*, be ordered to pass ahead. Yet even here the (a) last infirmity of this noble mind was indulged, for these ships could not pass ahead if the *Victory* continued to carry all her sail; and so far was Nelson from shortening sail, that it was evident he took pleasure in pressing on, and rendering it impossible for them to obey his own orders. (b) A long swell was setting into the Bay of Cadiz. Our ships, crowding all sail, moved majestically before it, with light winds from the south-west. The sun shone on the sails of the enemy, and their well-formed line, with their numerous three-deckers, made an appearance which any other assailants would have thought formidable, but the British sailors only admired the beauty and the splendour of the spectacle, and, in full confidence of winning what they saw, remarked to each other what a fine sight yonder ships would make at Spithead!

17. The French admiral, from the *Bucentaure*, beheld the new manner in which his enemy was advancing—Nelson and Collingwood each leading his line; and pointing them out to his officers, he is said to have exclaimed that such conduct could not fail to be successful. Yet Villeneuve had made his own dispositions with the utmost skill, and the fleets under his command waited for the attack with perfect coolness. Ten minutes before twelve they opened their fire. Eight or nine of the ships immediately ahead of the *Victory*, and across her bows, fired single guns at her to ascertain whether she was yet within their range. As soon as Nelson perceived that their shot passed over him he desired Blackwood and Captain Prowse, of the *Sirius*, to repair to their respective frigates, and on their way to tell all the captains of the line of battle ships

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that he depended on their exertions, and that, if by the prescribed mode of attack they found it impracticable to get into action immediately, they might adopt whatever they thought best, provided it led them quickly and closely alongside an enemy. As they were standing on the front poop, Blackwood took him by the hand, saying he hoped soon to return and find him in possession of twenty prizes. He replied, "God bless you, Blackwood; I shall never see you again."

18. Nelson's column was steered about two points more to the north than Collingwood's, in order to cut off the enemy's escape into Cadiz. The lee line, therefore, was first engaged. "See," cried Nelson, pointing to the *Royal Sovereign*, as she steered right for the centre of the enemy's line, cut through it astern of the *Santa Anna*, three-decker, and engaged her at the muzzle of her guns on the starboard side; "see how that noble fellow Collingwood carries his ship into action!" Collingwood, delighted at being first in the heat of the fire, and knowing the feelings of his commander and old friend, turned to his captain and exclaimed: "Rotherham, what would Nelson give to be here!" Both these brave officers, perhaps, at this moment thought of Nelson with gratitude for a circumstance which had occurred on the preceding day. Admiral Collingwood, with some of the captains, having gone on board the *Victory* to receive instructions, Nelson inquired of him where his captain was, and was told in reply that they were not upon good terms with each other. "Terms!" said Nelson; "good terms with each other!" Immediately he sent a boat for Captain Rotherham, led him, as soon as he arrived, to Collingwood, and saying, "Look, yonder are the enemy!" bade them shake hands like Englishmen.

19. The enemy continued to fire a gun at a time at the *Victory* till they saw that a shot had passed through her maintopgallant sail; then they opened their broadsides, aiming chiefly at her rigging, in the hope of disabling her before she

could close on them. Nelson as usual had hoisted several flags, lest one should be shot away. The enemy showed no colours till late in the action, when they began to feel the necessity of having them to strike. For this reason the *Santissima Trinidad*, Nelson's old acquaintance, as he used to call her, was distinguishable only by her four decks, and to the bow of this opponent he ordered the *Victory* to be steered. Meantime an incessant raking fire was kept up upon the *Victory*. The Admiral's secretary was one of the first who fell; he was killed by a cannon shot while conversing with Hardy. Captain Adair, of the marines, with the help of a sailor, endeavoured to remove the body from Nelson's sight, who had a great regard for Mr. Scott, but he anxiously asked, "is that poor Scott that's gone?" and being informed that it was indeed so, exclaimed, "Poor fellow!" Presently a double-headed shot struck a party of marines who were drawn up on the poop, and killed eight of them, upon which Nelson immediately desired Captain Adair to disperse his men round the ship, that they might not suffer so much from being together. A few minutes afterwards a shot struck the fore-brace bits on the quarter-deck, and passed between Nelson and Hardy, a splinter from the bit tearing off Hardy's buckle and bruising his foot. Both stopped, and looked anxiously at each other: each supposed the other to be wounded. Nelson then smiled, and said: "This is too warm work, Hardy, to last long."

20. The *Victory* had not yet returned a single gun; fifty of her men had been by this time killed or wounded, and her main-topmast, with all her studding-sails and their booms, shot away. Nelson declared that in all his battles he had seen nothing which surpassed the cool courage of his crew on this occasion. At four minutes after twelve she opened her fire from both sides of her deck. It was not possible to break the enemy's line without running on board one of their ships; Hardy informed him of this, and asked him which he would

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prefer. Nelson replied: "Take your choice, Hardy; it does not signify much." The master was ordered to put the helm to port, and the *Victory* ran on board the *Redoubtable* just as her tiller-ropes were shot away. The French ship received her with a broadside, then instantly let down her lower-deck ports for fear of being boarded through them, and never afterwards fired a great gun during the action. Her tops, like those of all the enemy's ships, were filled with riflemen. Nelson never placed musketry in his tops; he had a strong dislike to the practice, not merely because it endangers setting fire to the sails, but also because it is a murderous sort of warfare, by which individuals may suffer and a commander now and then picked off, but which never can decide the fate of a general engagement.

21. Captain Harvey, in the *Temeraire*, fell on board the *Redoubtable* on the other side; another enemy was in like manner on board the *Temeraire*; so that these four ships formed as compact a tier as if they had been moored together, their heads all lying the same way. The lieutenants of the *Victory* seeing this, depressed their guns of the middle and lower decks, and fired with a diminished charge, lest the shot should pass through and injure the *Temeraire*; and because there was danger that the *Redoubtable* might take fire from the lower deck guns, the muzzles of which touched her side when they were run out, the fireman of each gun stood ready with a bucket of water, which, as soon as the gun was discharged, he dashed into the hole made by the shot. An incessant fire was kept up from the *Victory* from both sides; her larboard guns playing upon the *Bucentaure* and the huge *Santissima Trinidad*.

22. It had been part of Nelson's prayer that the British fleet might be distinguished by humanity in the victory he expected. Setting an example himself, he twice gave orders to cease firing upon the *Redoubtable*, supposing that she had struck, be-

cause her great guns were silent ; for, as she carried no flag, there was no means of instantly ascertaining the fact. From this ship, which he had thus twice spared, he received his death. A ball fired from her mizen-top, which in the then situation of the two vessels was not more than fifteen yards from that part of the deck where he was standing, struck the epaulette on his left shoulder, about a quarter after one, just in the heat of action. He fell upon his face, on the spot which was covered with his poor secretary's blood. Hardy, who was a few steps from him, turning round, saw three men raising him up. "They have done for me at last, Hardy!" said he. "I hope not!" cried Hardy. "Yes," he replied, "my backbone is shot through!" Yet even now, not for a moment losing his presence of mind, he observed as they were carrying him down the ladder that the tiller-ropes, which had been shot away, were not yet replaced, and ordered that new ones should be rove immediately. Then, that he might not be seen by the crew, he took out his handkerchief and covered his face and his stars. Had he but concealed these badges of honour from the enemy, England perhaps would not have had cause to receive with sorrow the news of the battle of Trafalgar. The cockpit was crowded with wounded and dying men, over whose bodies he was with some difficulty conveyed, and laid upon a pallet in the midshipmen's berth. It was soon perceived, upon examination, that the wound was mortal. This, however, was concealed from all except Captain Hardy, the chaplain, and the medical attendants. He himself being certain, from the sensation in his back and the gush of blood he felt momentarily within his breast, that no human care could avail him, insisted that the surgeon should leave him, and attend to those to whom he might be useful ; "for," said he, "you can do nothing for me." All that could be done was to fan him with paper, and frequently give him lemonade to alleviate his intense thirst. He was in great pain, and expressed much anxiety for the event

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of the action, which now began to declare itself. As often as a ship struck the crew of the *Victory* hurraed, and at every hurra a visible expression of joy gleamed in the eyes and marked the countenance of the dying hero. But he became impatient to see Captain Hardy, and as that officer, though often sent for, could not leave the deck, Nelson feared that some fatal cause prevented him, and repeatedly cried: "Will no one bring Hardy to me? He must be killed! He is surely dead!" An hour and ten minutes elapsed from the time when Nelson received his wound before Hardy could come to him. They shook hands in silence; Hardy in vain struggling to express the feelings of that most painful and yet sublimest moment. "Well, Hardy," said Nelson, "How goes the day with us?"—"Very well," replied Hardy; "ten ships have struck, but five of the van have tacked, and show an intention to bear down upon the *Victory*. I have called two or three of our fresh ships round, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing."—"I hope," said Nelson, "none of our ships have struck?" Hardy answered, "There was no fear of that." Then, and not till then, Nelson spoke of himself. "I am a dead man, Hardy," said he; "I am going fast; it will be all over with me soon. Come nearer to me. Let my dear Lady Hamilton have my hair and all other things belonging to me." Hardy observed that he hoped Mr. Beatty could yet hold out some prospect of life. "Oh no!" he replied, "it is impossible; my back is shot through. Beatty will tell you so." Captain Hardy then once more shook hands with him, and with a heart almost bursting hastened on deck.

23. By this time all feeling below the breast was gone; and Nelson, having made the surgeon ascertain this, said to him: "You know I am gone. I know it. I feel something rising in my breast"—putting his hand on his left side—"which tells me so." And upon Beatty's inquiring whether his pain was very great, he replied: "So great that he wished he was

dead. "Yet," said he in a lower voice, "one would like to live a little longer too!" And after a few minutes, in the same undertone, he added: "What would become of poor Lady Hamilton if she knew my situation?" Next to his country she occupied his thoughts. Captain Hardy, some fifty minutes after he had left the cockpit, returned, and again taking the hand of his dying friend and commander, congratulated him on having gained a complete victory. How many of the enemy were taken he did not know, as it was impossible to perceive them distinctly; but fourteen or fifteen at least. "That's well!" cried Nelson; "but I bargained for twenty." And then in a stronger voice he said: "Anchor, Hardy, anchor." Hardy upon this hinted that Admiral Collingwood would take upon himself the direction of affairs. "Not while I live, Hardy," said the dying Nelson, ineffectually endeavouring to raise himself from the bed; "Do you anchor." His previous order for preparing to anchor had shown how clearly he foresaw the necessity of this. Presently, calling Hardy back, he said to him in a low voice: "Don't throw me overboard;" and he desired that he might be buried by his parents, unless it should please the King to order otherwise. Then reverting to private feelings: "Take care of my dear Lady Hamilton, Hardy; take care of poor Lady Hamilton. Kiss me, Hardy," said he. Hardy knelt down and kissed his cheek, and Nelson said: "Now I am satisfied. Thank God, I I have done my duty!" Hardy stood over him in silence for a moment or two, then knelt again and kissed his forehead. "Who is that?" said Nelson; and being informed, he replied: "God bless you, Hardy." And Hardy then left him forever.

24. Nelson now desired to be turned upon his right side, and said: "I wish I had not left the deck, for I shall soon be gone." Death was indeed rapidly approaching. He said to the chaplain: "Doctor, I have *not* been a *great* sinner." And after a short pause: "Remember that I leave Lady Hamilton

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and my daughter Horatia as a legacy to my country." His articulation now became difficult, but he was distinctly heard to say: "Thank God, I have done my duty!" These words he repeatedly pronounced, and they were the last words which he uttered. He expired at thirty minutes after four, three hours and a quarter after he had received his wound.

25. Within a quarter of an hour after Nelson was wounded about fifty of the *Victory's* men fell by the enemy's musketry. (a) They, however, on their part were not idle, and it was not long before there were only two Frenchmen left alive in the mizen-top of the *Redoubtable*. One of them was the man who had given the fatal wound—he did not live to boast of what he had done. An old quartermaster had seen him fire, and easily recognized him because he wore a glazed cocked-hat and a white frock. This quartermaster and two midshipmen, Mr. Collingwood and Mr. Pollard, were the only persons left in the *Victory's* poop; the two midshipmen kept firing at the top, and he supplied them with cartridges. One of the Frenchmen, attempting to make his escape down the rigging, was shot by Mr. Pollard, and fell on the poop. But the old quartermaster, as he cried out "That's he, that's he!" and pointed at the other, who was coming forward to fire again, received a shot in his mouth and fell dead. Both the midshipmen then fired at the same time, and the fellow dropped in the top. When they took possession of the prize they went into the mizen-top and found him dead, with one ball through his head and another through his breast.

26. The *Redoubtable* struck within twenty minutes after the fatal shot had been fired from her. During that time she had been twice on fire—in her forechains and in her forecastle. The French, as they had done in other battles, made use in this of fireballs and other combustibles: implements of destruction which other nations, from a sense of honour and humanity, have laid aside, which add to the sufferings of the

wounded without determining the issue of the combat, which none but the cruel would employ, and which never can be successful against the brave. Once they succeeded in setting fire, from the *Redoubtable*, to some ropes and canvas on the *Victory's* booms. The cry ran through the ship and reached the cockpit, but even this dreadful cry produced no confusion: the men displayed that perfect self-possession in danger by which English seamen are characterized; they extinguished the flames on board their own ship, and then hastened to extinguish them in the enemy by throwing buckets of water from the gangway. When the *Redoubtable* had struck it was not practicable to board her from the *Victory*; for though the two ships touched, the upper works of both fell in so much that there was a great space between their gangways, and she could not be boarded from the lower or middle decks because her ports were down. Some of our men went to Lieutenant Quillian and offered to swim under her bows, and get up there, but it was thought unfit to hazard brave lives in this manner.

27. What our men would have done from gallantry some of the crew of the *Santissima Trinidad* did to save themselves. Unable to stand the tremendous fire of the *Victory*, whose larboard guns played against this great four-decker, and not knowing how else to escape them, nor where else to betake themselves for protection, many of them leapt overboard and swam to the *Victory*, and were actually helped up her sides by the English during the action. The Spaniards began the battle with less vivacity than their unworthy allies, but continued it with greater firmness. The *Aryonauta* and *Bahama* were defended till they had each lost about 400 men; the *San Juan Nepomuceno* lost 350. Often as the superiority of British courage has been proved against France upon the seas, it was never more conspicuous than in this decisive conflict. Five of our ships were engaged muzzle to muzzle with five of the French. In all five the Frenchmen lowered their lower-deck

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ports and deserted their guns, while our men continued deliberately to load and fire till they had made the victory secure.

28. Once, amidst his sufferings, Nelson had expressed a wish that he were dead; but immediately the spirit subdued the pains of death, and he wished to live a little longer—doubtless then he might hear the completion of the victory which he had seen so gloriously begun. That consolation, that joy, that triumph was afforded him. He lived to know that the victory was decisive, and the last guns which were fired at the flying enemy were heard a minute or two before he expired. The ships which were thus flying were four of the enemy's van, all French, under Rear-Admiral Dumanoir. They had borne no part in the action; and now, when they were seeking safety in flight, they fired not only into the *Victory* and *Royal Sovereign* as they passed, but poured their broadsides into the Spanish captured ships, and they were seen to back their topsails for the purpose of firing with more precision. The indignation of the Spanish at this detestable cruelty from their allies, for whom they had fought so bravely, and so profusely bled, may well be conceived. It was such that when, two days after the action, seven of the ships which had escaped into Cadiz came out, in hopes of retaking some of the disabled prizes, the prisoners in the *Argonauta* in a body offered their services to the British prize-master to man the guns against any of the French ships; saying, that if a Spanish ship came alongside they would quietly go below, but they requested that they might be allowed to fight the French in resentment for the murderous usage which they had suffered at their hands. Such was their earnestness, and such the implicit confidence which could be placed in Spanish honour, that the offer was accepted, and they were actually stationed at the lower deck guns. Dumanoir and his squadron were not more fortunate than the fleet from whose destruction they fled: they fell in with Sir Richard Strachan, who was cruising for the Rochefort

squadron, and were all taken. In the better days of France, if such a crime could then have been committed, it would have received an exemplary punishment from the French Government; under Bonaparte it was sure of impunity, and perhaps might be thought deserving of reward. But if the Spanish Court had been independent, it would have become us to have delivered Dumanoir and his captains up to Spain, that they might have been brought to trial, and hanged in sight of the remains of the Spanish fleet.

29. The total British loss in the battle of Trafalgar amounted to 1,587. Twenty of the enemy struck; unhappily, the fleet did not anchor, as Nelson, almost with his dying breath, had enjoined. A gale came on from the south-west: some of the prizes went down, some went on shore; one effected its escape into Cadiz; others were destroyed; four only were saved, and those by the greatest exertions. The wounded Spaniards were sent ashore, an assurance being given that they should not serve till regularly exchanged; and the Spaniards, with a generous feeling, which would not perhaps have been found in any other people, offered the use of their hospitals for our wounded, pledging the honour of Spain that they should be carefully attended there. When the storm, after the action, drove some of the prizes upon the coast, they declared that the English, who were thus thrown into their hands, should not be considered as prisoners of war; and the Spanish soldiers gave up their own beds to their shipwrecked enemies. The Spanish vice-admiral, Alva, died of his wounds. Villeneuve was sent to England, and permitted to return to France. The French Government say that he destroyed himself on the way to Paris, dreading the consequences of a court-martial; but there is every reason to believe that the tyrant, who never acknowledged the loss of the battle of Trafalgar, added Villeneuve to the numerous victims of his murderous policy.

30. It is almost superfluous to add that all the honours

which a grateful country could bestow were heaped upon the memory of Nelson. His brother was made an Earl, with a grant of £6,000 a year; £10,000 were voted to each of his sisters, and £100,000 for the purchase of an estate. A public funeral was decreed, and a public monument. Statues and monuments also were voted by most of our principal cities. The leaden coffin in which he was brought home was cut in pieces, which were distributed as relics of St. Nelson—so the gunner of the *Victory* called them; and when at his interment his flag was about to be lowered into the grave, the sailors who assisted at the ceremony with one accord rent it in pieces, that each might preserve a fragment while he lived.

31. The death of Nelson was felt in England as something more than a public calamity; men started at the intelligence and turned pale, as if they had heard of the loss of a dear friend. An object of our admiration and affection, of our pride and of our hopes, was suddenly taken from us; and it seemed as if we had never till then known how deeply we loved and revered him. What the country had lost in its great naval hero—the greatest of our own and (a) of all former times—was scarcely taken into the (b) account of grief. So perfectly indeed had he performed his part, that the maritime war after the battle of Trafalgar was considered at an end. the fleets of the enemy were not merely defeated, (c) but destroyed; new navies must be built, and a new race of seamen reared for them, before the possibility of their invading our shores could again be contemplated. It was not, therefore, from any selfish reflection upon the magnitude of our loss that we mourned for him; the general sorrow was of a higher character. The people of England grieved that funeral ceremonies, and public monuments, and posthumous rewards were all (d) which they could now bestow upon him whom the King, the Legislature, and the nation would have alike delighted to honour; whom every tongue would have blessed; whose presence in

every village through which he might have passed would have wakened the church bells, have given school-boys a holiday, have drawn children from their sports to gaze upon him, and "old men from the chimney corner" to look upon Nelson ere they died. The victory of Trafalgar was celebrated, indeed, with the usual forms of rejoicing, but they were without joy; for such already was the glory of the British navy through Nelson's surpassing genius, that it scarcely seemed to receive any addition from the most signal victory that ever was achieved upon the seas; and the destruction of this mighty fleet, by which all the maritime schemes of France were totally frustrated, hardly appeared to add to our security or strength, for while Nelson was living to watch the combined squadrons of the enemy we felt ourselves as secure as now, when they were no longer in existence.

32. There was reason to suppose, from the appearances upon opening the body, that in the course of nature he might have attained, like his father, to good old age. Yet he cannot be said to have fallen prematurely whose work was done, nor ought he to be lamented who died so full of honours and at the height of human fame. The most triumphant death is that of the martyr; the most awful is that of the martyred patriot; the most splendid that of the hero in the hour of victory; and if the chariot and the horses of fire had been vouchsafed for Nelson's translation, he could scarcely have departed in a brighter blaze of glory. He has left us, not indeed his mantle of inspiration, but a name and an example which are at this hour inspiring thousands of the youth of England—a name which is our pride, and an example which will continue to be our shield and our strength. Thus it is that the spirits of the great and the wise continue to live and to act after them, verifying in this sense the language of the old mythologist:

*Τοι μὲν δαίμονες εἰσὶ, Διὸς μέγαλον διὰ βουλὰς
Ἑσθλοὶ, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες ἡνιγῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

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NOTES AND EXERCISES.

A SIMPLE prose selection like this *Life* will require few explanatory notes ; but as the chief object aimed at in prescribing the prose author is the cultivation of a good prose style supplementary remarks and exercises are given, chiefly on the earlier paragraphs, in the hope that the student will be led to give his attention to the principles of prose style in his composition. The principles of sentence construction, though important, have not in these notes received much attention, chief stress being laid on the construction of the paragraphs, on the principle that "if we take care of the paragraphs the composition will take care of itself."

[The marginal figures refer to the paragraphs.]

CHAPTER VII.

1. *a* This is a trifling circumstance to break the sequence of the paragraph with ; but in biography the author is justified in introducing such personal incidents, if interesting, or if they show a leading characteristic in the person.
- b* Rearrange the clauses here.
- c* **That** is here emphatic ; put it in the proper place for emphasis.
- d* and *e* The pronouns **This** and **it** are here used very loosely. The meaning may be shown by using [This separation], and [an infatuation which, etc.] and running the two sentences together as far as friends; beginning the next sentence with "**It**, however, produced," etc.
- f* [had] occasioned.

Remarks.—This paragraph, being the first of the chapter, might have contained some general reference to the subject of the chapter. It is rather the conclusion of chapter vi., and the second paragraph introduces the real subject of this chapter. Short as it is, however, it contains two separate groups of sentences—Nelson's public reception, and his domestic life. Each division is introduced by a general statement, which is followed by particulars under it. Nelson's domestic happiness might have formed a separate paragraph and have contained further details of his domestic habits, which

would be interesting in the case of so remarkable a man. The paragraph contains some of the peculiarities of Southey's style, such as :

Grouping sentences on several distinct topics.

Heading a group with a general statement, and filling in the explanatory particulars.

No words to indicate the transition from one subject to another ; and the omission of words that indicate the relation of sentences to each other.

His sentences are loose rather than periodic. There is no art shown in arranging the ideas or the words. The thoughts are uttered as they occur to his mind, with an easy fluency, sometimes negligent, but always captivating.

Exercises.—1. The student should test each paragraph by the rules given in iii., above, noting the deviations from the rules, and any circumstances that justify those deviations.

2. Write a summary of Nelson's public career that would serve as a "backward reference" introducing this chapter.

3. Write a paragraph on the difference between history and biography.

4. Write a note on Nelson's character, and the manner in which it has been presented in this Life.

5. Write a criticism of the Life of Nelson as a biography, comparing it with any other noted biography.

6. Write notes showing how far Nelson and Southey may, each in his line, be taken as the product of the age in which they lived.

2. *a* This was on the defeat of Pitt on the Catholic Emancipation Bill.

b There were formerly three divisions in the navy—the red, the white and the blue—each having an admiral, a vice-admiral and a rear-admiral. The distinction is now abolished. The words "red, white and blue," in the song, refer to these divisions.

c Sir John Jervis, raised to the Peerage for the battle of St. Vincent (see early chapters). It was from him that Nelson had learned the clever manœuvre by which half of the enemy's line of battle were detached from the rest, and destroyed before the others could come to their aid—a manœuvre that repeatedly baffled the French.

d The naval rights here meant were those by which England sought to prevent neutral vessels from carrying war material to either belligerent power. The dispute led to the armed neutrality of 1780, in which Russia, France, Spain and America leagued to enforce the doctrine that "free ships made free goods." The dispute on this occasion arose upon the interpretation of "war material," the French insisting that it did not include such articles as timber, hemp, tow, etc., which they needed for their ships. The nations in the League of the north were really banded together in defence of their existence as commercial nations. But England had too much at stake to make

nice distinctions, and risked incurring the hostility of these powers. Fortunately she succeeded, and the battle of Trafalgar gave her the commerce of the world.

e It is remarkable that each of the three leagued powers, and their opponent, England, was at this time ruled by a King more or less crazy. Paul I., of Russia, was at times a violent lunatic, perpetrating frightful atrocities, till he was finally murdered; Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, was subject to fits of imbecility; Christian VII., of Denmark, was a hopeless imbecile, and had resigned all power to the Prince Royal, his son; and George III., of England, was subject to periods of imbecility. The condition of government in Europe, however, was at this time such that the people having sane rulers were worse off than those ruled by imbeciles. The pages of this Life give some glimpses of Bourbon rule in southern rule. We can pardon the strong national sympathy of Southey and Nelson, but we must read between the lines of the biographer's page to discover the historian.

f This somewhat epigrammatic sentence implies that a man with the ordinary weakness of human nature cannot possess absolute power without danger to himself, or perhaps without sin.

g Poor little Denmark was in a pitiable condition. Two giant powers, England and France, were contending for the mastery of the world, one was all powerful on the sea, the other on land. She wished to remain neutral, but her navy was coveted by France and her commerce hated by England. If she favoured England she would have been trampled down by France; if she favoured France she became liable to punishment from England. To further her commerce and save her country she finally leaned towards France, and was accordingly punished.

Remarks.—This paragraph introduces the subject of the chapter—the Baltic Expedition. It opens in Southey's usual manner, with a general statement, which is followed by a few explanatory sentences without any connectives. The first sentence is not well formed, being too condensed, and containing too much to be lucid. The paragraph closes properly, with a few sentences bringing Nelson prominently before the reader.

Exercise.—As a composition, rewrite the paragraph in your own words, taking the statements in the following order:—Nelson's stay shortened by a new appointment—the Northern League—their navies—the aims of France—the determination of the Addington Cabinet—Nelson's application accepted by his old friend, Earl St. Vincent—but second only, as Parker had already been appointed first—popular disapproval—Nelson's merits—his disappointment.

3. *a* Most of these quotations are taken from Nelson's private letters, for

which Southey has been blamed by other writers, as many of the extracts show some of Nelson's weaknesses ; but indiscriminating hero worship is not the best mode of inculcating the lessons of a great life. Such expressions as "the devils in the north," would show that though Nelson had the genius of fighting he was not to be trusted with the chief command of an expedition that was to try conciliation and diplomacy before attacking a neutral power without declaring war.

Remarks.—The paragraph is rather loosely put together. The first sentence has no connection whatever with the rest. The Riou incident is given unusual prominence, but Southey seems to favour that captain.

Exercise.—Fill in the paragraph as follows: Nelson joins—early season but favourable—admiral timid—but Nelson resolute—destination known—Danes on *Amazon*—Riou.

4. This also is a rather loose paragraph. It opens well with the central idea in a short sentence ; but the second sentence is defective in not telling who Mr. Vansittart was, or what his sailing had to do with the negotiations. The third sentence has no connection with anything before or after it in the paragraph.

Exercise.—Rewrite the paragraph to the following heads : The start—double aim of expedition—mission of Vansittart (Lord Bexley)—reserve of admiral—chagrin of Nelson—his abilities—if government failed to see them the admiral did not—this proved well for England subsequently—Nelson's opinion of plans of attack as learned from his letters.

5. *a* [Profited, with all activity, of the leisure,] does not sound well. Improve it.
- b* As this is taken from a letter written in haste, slight inaccuracies, arising from condensation or confusion of ideas, may be expected. There are several in the last four sentences. Write out the sentences correctly.
6. This paragraph is a continuation of the letter, partly in substance only, and partly by direct quotation. Such expressions as "supposing him," and "supposing them," are not elegant.

Exercise.—Rewrite the letter in direct quotation.

7. *a* This word is a favourite with Southey.
- b* The captain of the fleet is an officer corresponding to the adjutant-general in the army. He has general supervision of the fleet, but is in command of no vessel.
- c* Under way, is the more usual form.
- d* Remodel this phrase.
- e* but that ; but is now usually omitted.

Remarks.—The Pilots are not the leading subject, and should not have occupied that place. Captain Donett's objections should be preceded by some introductory phrase, such as, "He assured him that."

Exercise.—Write sentences on the following heads, keeping up the proper sequence: Difficulties increased—pilots consulted—their advice—Nelson's impatience—fleet sailed—Donett's objections—Nelson consulted—fleet returns.

8. This paragraph, while censuring delay, really shows the English to be in the wrong. The last incident mentioned is scarcely worthy a place. It might have been placed in a foot note.
9. The first sentence here states an isolated fact, having no connection with the subject of the paragraph, or, indeed, with the expedition. The order of sailing, the real subject of the paragraph, is skilfully withheld till the last, where it gives a picturesque scene.

10. *a* Point of land nearest to, etc.

b Tycho Brahe, a celebrated Danish astronomer, born 1546. In 1576, Frederick II. built him a large observatory and gave him the island of Huen for life, with a liberal pension. On Frederick's death the pension ceased, and Brahe, after a short residence in Copenhagen, removed to Prague, where he met Kepler, in whom he formed those habits of observation that afterwards made that astronomer famous.

c "partly, but more frequently" are not usual correlatives.

d The story of Hamlet is found in the history of Saxo Grammaticus. The Prince has been made famous by Shakespeare. In Elsinore, Hamlet's grave and Ophelia's brook are yet shown to visitors.

e Matilda, the sister of George III., married Charles VII. That King's stepmother intrigued to have the crown descend to her own son, and laid false accusations against the fidelity of Matilda, which were believed at the time to be true. The queen's supposed accomplices were executed; she was, at the instance of England, spared, but was exiled to Hanover, where she died.

Remarks.—This is the best paragraph we have yet had. The author, while the fleet is approaching the Sound, paints the magnificent view. His language is picturesque, and in dignified harmony with the subject. The subject itself affords a harmony of scene and incident (see Bain), and the author brings in the associated effect of personal interest by a few well selected incidents. The first sentence gains the effect of contrast, by stating a contrary state of affairs to the subject to be described, which is here introduced in the second sentence. The paragraph is long, and might have been broken where it changes from the political importance of the Sound to the description; this would leave the picture and its personal interest to form a

second paragraph. The plan of description shows us each side of the Sound, with the islands and water in the middle and Copenhagen as a background in the distance. The student should study this paragraph carefully; it will benefit him to criticize and to imitate the explanatory narrative in the beginning, the description of the scenery, and the taste in the selection of the historical allusions.

11. *a* never [before] had.

b What is the original form of this expression?

c Fell [short but] near, etc. The idea intended is that the shot did not reach the vessels.

d [The English had meant to keep] would be better. Pronouns should refer to subjects of preceding sentences, not to objects; and it is not correct to speak of ships perceiving.

e [So as to get completely out,] would bring the related words together.

f [Ineffectual, or harmless.] Innocent conveys a moral sense.

Remarks.—Like the last, this paragraph begins in Macaulay's style, by stating something different from what is about to be described, the real subject being introduced by an adversative "but." The passage is well told, and the paragraph ends with a view of the formidable works to be attacked.

12. The deliberations of the Council of War are not related directly, but what is told gives prominence to Nelson, which is the author's intention.

13. *a* and the Danes considered [the] difficulty [of passing through the channel without them] as, etc.

b "Day and night" generally implies a succession of days and nights, not one day and night as here.

Remarks.—This paragraph also has the adversative statement at the beginning. It has too much condensation throughout.

14. *a* At the distance of about, etc. The form in the text is unusual. The paragraph again begins with the adversative statement. The narrative gives a description from a traveller's point of view, new difficulties being detected as the fleet approaches. Nelson's part is again given prominence; and the paragraph ends with the rest of the plan arranged at the council.

15. *a* Whole, is here slightly ambiguous; it would be better placed after "displayed itself" [throughout the whole city].

b "own means of defence," should have as correlative after it [the defence of], the invading, etc.

Remarks.—This description deals with the Danes throughout, and it properly forms a separate paragraph.

16. *a* They, refers to an object and not a subject of the preceding sentence.

b Them [the English].

c [of] mind. Southey too frequently omits small words in his sentences.

Remarks.—The first sentence appears to have no connection with the rest of the paragraph. It is introduced on the usual adversative principle, but it is too abrupt. The adversative “but,” denoting contrast, would have been more effective than “far more so,” which denotes comparison.

Paragraph 17 treats of the pilots, and Hardy’s daring feat; 18, of the details of getting into action; and 19, of the beginning of the bombardment in position, each having a distinct subject.

a This reason for giving the signal is denied by other biographers.

20. *a* [To delay the signal at least till, etc.]

Remarks.—The first sentence is well formed, but it belongs properly to 19. If it had been placed there this paragraph would then be confined to the admiral.

21. The scene now goes back to Nelson, and describes his conduct on reception of the signal. The paragraph ends with an affecting account of the death of Riou, to whom prominence had been purposely given in previous paragraphs.

22. *a* In the *Bellona* and [in] the *Isis*, omit “both.”

b Any [other] single ship.

c Tremendous, the student will observe, is a favorite word with Southey.

23. The scene now changes to the Danes, but too much prominence is given to the Prince Royal by his position, as subject of the first sentence. There is no sequence in the first three sentences.

Exercise.—Write out sentences on the following heads, keeping up the sequence: The unusual importance of the contest to the Danes—national courage displayed in self defence—Thura—word sent to the Prince Royal, the commander, where he was watching the battle—his conduct—Shroedersee—Villemoes.

In paragraphs 24 and 25 the scene is still laid on the Danish side, to show the effect of the battle on them; 26 and 27, treat of Nelson’s clever note, the decision of the British to withdraw from their perilous position, and the close of the battle.

28. Here the author, after relating the incidents attending the withdrawal, pictures the scene of havoc. He does not boast or glory over the defeated; his sentiments, calm, dignified and melancholy, are expressed in eloquent language.

29. *a* or [from] supposing, etc.

b of all. Omit "others." This mistake was frequently made by writers of Southey's time.

Remarks.—In this paragraph, the first two sentences belong to 28. The fourth sentence is a fair sample of Southey's long sentences; it is partly periodic, but on the whole loose. The meaning is perfectly clear.

Paragraphs 30 and 31 are not well grouped. The transitions are too violent and not well marked.

Exercise.—Write out the two paragraphs on the following heads:

30. The English fleet on the night of the battle. Nelson—next morning.

The Zealand—the English fleet next day—losses on our side—the sorrow of the Danes—their occupation—their loss.

31. Negotiations meantime continued—interview necessary—Nelson in Copenhagen—settling preliminaries—the report.

32. In this paragraph events are confused by not following the order of time, and the last remark is too trifling for the close.

Exercise.—Re-write in this order: Grief and sympathy of the Danes—aid sent from all parts—burial of the dead—subscription for relief—how collected—medals—monument—painters and writers.

34. *a* [The commissioners separated, or the commission broke up.]

b What is the history of the word *levee*?

Note the abrupt introduction of the terms of the armistice, without any explanation.

35. In many of the circumstances related in this and the 33rd paragraph, though Southey's object was to win our sympathy for Nelson, we can see that he was eccentric, petulant and undignified. The reply in the next paragraph redounds more to the honour of the Danes than of the English.

Exercises.—(1) Write an account of the bombardment of Copenhagen in three paragraphs: 1. The causes, and the measures taken; 2. The sailing of the fleet and its arrival at Copenhagen; 3. The battle. (2) Write a paragraph on each of the heads of this chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

2. The first three sentences belong to 1; the next three refer to Sir Hyde, and the remainder to Nelson.

3. *a* The Emperor Paul was assassinated by a band of conspirators headed by Count Pahlen, and his son Alexander, a warm friend of England, was immediately proclaimed Emperor.

Remarks.—Down to the word *Elephant* properly belongs to 2.

5. This sentence is set off as a paragraph to emphasize the important statement it contains, but it might have included the first five sentences of 6.

7. *a* This is an ill-constructed sentence ; too much is condensed into few words ; "and" should couple the last clause, with something about the firing, not about the delay, as in the text. Re-write the sentence, bringing out the four ideas it contains.

8. *a* "answer" and "return" are both used with reference to the message from Russia ; which is correct ?

b [Depart] would be a better word here.

c "Repeated" is not the word to use here.

d His anxious wish [to pay] and [to sign].

Remarks.—The first sentence is defective, as the latter clause dislocates the sequence ; the clause belongs in subject to 7, and should be there.

10. *a* Though no second punishment was given the Danes then, the intrigues of France and Russia, to force Denmark into an alliance, led England in 1807 to anticipate them by taking the Danish fleet.

b The French revolutionary party had a large following in every country in Europe, and as all the Powers were determined to restore the Bourbons in France, the French offered to assist the people of every other country in overthrowing their rulers.

c The meaning here is that if generosity restrained the English from hostilities, an apology should be demanded from the Prince Royal.

11. *a* Even than is the usual form, but "than even" is better collocation.

13. *a* What use of "and" is this ?

17. The opening incident here about the French captain belongs to 16, and this paragraph should be confined to Nelson's private letter.

18. *a* Many of the English people sympathized with the French, and the revolutionary spirit was so strong that the government was forced to use great severity in suppressing the manifestation of popular feeling. But the chief cause of joy at the peace of Amiens was no doubt the hope of relief it brought to the poor who had been in a state bordering on starvation while England was shut out by the war from the markets of Europe.

19. *a* Lady Hamilton, the second wife of Sir William Hamilton, the noted antiquarian, was a woman of great beauty and some ability. Her life was remarkable. She was born of humble parents, and spent her youth in domestic service. While a waitress in a tavern she became acquainted with actors, and soon entered on a wild life. As the wife of Sir William Hamilton she lived at Naples, where she gained a complete ascendancy over the mind of the Queen, thus gain-

ing much valuable information for Nelson. After Nelson's death she squandered her means, and after being imprisoned for debt retired with Nelson's daughter, Horatia, to Calais, where she died in 1815.

20. *a* The Mayor [had] replied, would put all the verbs in the same tense.
b "He" is somewhat ambiguous. Nelson now maintained that he had kept his word, etc., would remove the ambiguity. The Lord Mayor's incident is introduced with Southey's usual abruptness; a sentence, showing Nelson's chagrin at the slight, might have preceded the incident.

21. *a* These five battles are mentioned in the early chapters of his life. There can be no doubt about the difficulty, the bravery and the hard fighting alluded to with regard to Copenhagen, but the victory was dubious; the position of the English at the close was critical, and nothing but the extreme anxiety of the Danes for their fleet, which had been removed to the inner channel, saved the English ships from destruction. Another probable reason for withholding these honours was the political necessity of regaining the friendship of the Danes.

23. The last sentence of 22 might have opened this paragraph, as it introduces the subject.

24. *a* As a Peer of the Realm, he would have a seat in the House of Lords. Paragraphs 24, 25, 26 and 27 interrupt the thread of the narrative to show Nelson's relations with the navy. The opening sentence makes a general assertion, which the four paragraphs explain. The subjects are well grouped; 24 treats of the kind interest he took in the welfare of the men; 25 of his gentle mode of discipline; 26 of his professional zeal for the navy, and 27 of his desire to reward merit.

28. *a* The character of Napoleon is still a disputed question in history, but Southey had no doubt about it.

- b* Nelson never had any "film" over his eyes. He had never dreamed of pantisocracy, and his "mother hated the French."

Remarks.—Paragraphs 28 and 29 continue the interruption to the narrative; 28 gives us, in a series of thoughtful and well-expressed sentences, the political character of the French, and discusses their immediate aims in the Mediterranean; 29 explains Napoleon's designs on Europe, and the position of Spain.

32. The first five sentences here belong to 31, as this paragraph treats of Nelson's patient watch at Toulon.

33. *a* Spain was in the position in which Denmark had been between France and England; the one robbed her on land and the other at sea. War had not been declared, but such a life and death contest is not a time for nice distinctions.

- b* Were never wounded [more] deeply [than] now.

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The remaining paragraphs of the chapter tell in spirited language Nelson's celebrated chase after the French fleet. It was a grand achievement, but in doing it Nelson merely fell into the trap set for him by Napoleon, whose grand scheme then was the invasion of England. To do this he wanted the channel free from English vessels. He held an army of 130,000 men, camped on the coast for two years, with an immense number of transportation boats. Everything was ready; the soldiers and horses were even drilled in embarking on the boats till it could be done in one hour. All he wanted was command of the channel for forty-eight hours. To secure this he directed his fleet to sail to America to menace the colonies, and when it had thus drawn Nelson with the British fleet to America, to sail back immediately, collecting all the French and Spanish vessels from the various ports, and thus get command of the channel for a short time. The first part of the scheme succeeded, and the whole, as far as the fleet was concerned, would have done so if Villeneuve had not been frightened by the terrible name of Nelson into disobeying orders.

CHAPTER IX.

1. *a* At length, at last; which is the proper expression here?
b See the account of Hotham's battle off Toulon (chapter iii).
2. *a* Nelson and the English public were of this opinion, but it is not according to facts. The French had orders to sail for Europe the moment they heard of Nelson's arrival at America.
b Is this the right word here?
c What connective is omitted between the sentences here?
d Villeneuve had positive orders to go from Ferrol to the channel, or attempt to do so, even if his whole fleet should be destroyed in the attempt. Napoleon had now waited for two years for his approach, and was looking every day for his fleet; if it were present for only one day, the army would, he thought, be able to cross. His rage was terrible when he learned that the fleet had gone to Cadiz. He ordered Villeneuve to resign immediately and report himself at Paris; it was the receipt of this order that induced Villeneuve to offer battle to Nelson, knowing well that defeat awaited him.
3. *a* all [That] I hold dear.
4. *a* [Never another], or better [no other].
b So entirely possessed,—possessed so entirely. What is the difference? Which is correct here?
c What object is gained by this use of Biblical expressions?
7. *a* Though the Northern League had been broken up, the disputed point was not relinquished.

- b* This statement will probably hold true to a greater extent than the author intended. Owing to the nature of war ships at present, it is not likely that in the future any great pitched battle will take place at sea.
8. Note that the real subject of this paragraph begins with "yet" about the middle of the paragraph.
9. *a* Nelson was proud of the title Bronte, which had been given him by the King of Naples for his victory of the Nile, and was fond of using it.
- b* "He," means Nelson himself. The order of battle here stated was that employed generally by the English then. Villeneuve manœuvred well against it in his battle with Sir Robert Calder, off Ferrol. But he said of the French: "We have a superannuated system of naval tactics; we know only how to place ourselves in line, and that is just what the enemy requires."
15. *a* "Whole fleet" would lead us to expect a singular verb and pronoun. "All the fleet" would be less objectionable as the idea is plural.
- The manœuvres of the two fleets in 14 and might have been kept more distinct.
- The incidents mentioned purposely make Nelson prominent, and are such as awaken our admiration for the hero and give a dramatic interest to his death.
16. *a* What is Milton's form of this expression?
- b* The paragraph closes well with a picturesque view of the two fleets approaching each other, but the personal interest at the close is not in keeping with the scene.
18. As the divisions are getting into position, a few interesting personal incidents, still referring to Nelson, are cleverly woven into the narrative.
- 19, 20 and 21 describe the battle, the chief scene being laid on the *victory* with Nelson.
- Paragraphs 22, 23 and 24 relate with touching effect the incidents of Nelson's wound and death. The unadorned story, interwoven with Nelson's characteristic remarks, is constructed with remarkable skill, and is deeply affecting. In the selection and arrangement of his materials from Nelson's prayer and letter before the battle to the sad close, Southey shows the skill of an experienced plot constructor; 24 confined to his last words, and his death is purposely short.
25. *a* "They" grammatically refers to the fifty that fell, which is not the meaning.

This paragraph relates a trifling incident which, however, gratifies our sense of justice by the death of those who had shot down the hero, after he had twice spared them.

28. The close of the battle, and Nelson's knowledge that he died the most splendid of deaths—that of the hero in the hour of victory.
29. This paragraph opens with a few abrupt disconnected sentences. Other accounts relate that it was found impossible to anchor in the open sea with a gale blowing.
30. We read here of nothing given to Lady Hamilton and Horatia—all that Nelson "held dear in this world."
31. *a* "And all former times;" omit "of" to combine both into one statement, he could not be the greatest hero of former times.
b This is an unusual form of this phrase.
c [Were not merely defeated; they were destroyed.] "But" is adversative, not intensive.
d "All which" is used frequently by Southey. Custom now requires "that" after "all."

This paragraph and the closing one give a fine instance of simple, dignified language, used to express the national affection and grief. Paragraph 32 sings a prose elegy on his death. From the second sentence to the end it is a beautiful passage of rhythmical and melodious prose; indeed, it is almost metrical, as is usually the case when prose approaches the lofty feeling of poetry. It is the most artistic passage in the whole life, and is the only instance of the use of figurative language.